

UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL

**BLACK AFRICAN PARENTS AND SCHOOL HISTORY:
A NARRATIVE INQUIRY**

By

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DECLARATION

I, **Mauricio Paulo Langa**, hereby declare that this thesis is my original work and that it has not previously been submitted for a degree at any other institution of higher learning. Besides, all sources used in this study have been recognised by means of adequate referencing. .

Signature:

As the student's supervisor, I **Johan Wassermann**, hereby approve the submission of the thesis for examination.



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As the student's co-supervisor, I **Marshall Tamuka Maposa**, hereby approve the submission of the thesis for examination.



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DEDICATION

I dedicate this study to my family, particularly to my late parents: Paulo and Lucia for their unconditional support and encouragement towards education despite them not having had the opportunity to go to school. Through their commitment to my education both at primary and secondary levels, they instilled in me the love for schooling and for that I will be forever grateful.

ABSTRACT

This study set to explore narratives on how Black African parents experienced school history in the apartheid era and how these experiences informed the parents' views of school history in post-apartheid South Africa. Literature on schooling during apartheid shows that most Black Africans' experiences were characterised by difficulty. It also shows how school history was abused as a tool to promote the apartheid ideology. However, Black Africans' experiences of school history are under-researched. This motivated the need to explore narratives of Black Africans, especially if one considers the fact that these Africans are now parents whose views may inform their children's decisions on studying school history. This study was guided by two research questions: What are the narratives of Black African parents as they relate to school history in both apartheid and post-apartheid South Africa; and How do their narratives explain why their children do or do not do school history?

The Narrative Inquiry methodology was employed to make sense of the lived experiences of the participants (Black African parents). The study was situated within the critical paradigm, which tallies with Critical Race Theory, which is the theoretical framework. The sample comprised ten participants, who were purposively chosen middle class Black African parents. The data was generated through semi-structured interviews enhanced by photo elicitation and was analysed through open-coding. The first level of analysis generated narratives which both diverged and converged. The findings from the second level of analysis showed that the participants had negative experiences of education in general and school history in particular during the apartheid era. As a result of these negative experiences, Black African parents admit to not wanting their children to study history, despite the acknowledgement that the post-apartheid school history curriculum has improved. This shows that the parents project their negative experiences of school history onto their children. This is not helped by the finding that while the apartheid government's conception of school history deterred the participants from promoting history, the post-apartheid government has inadvertently continued to solidify the parents' anti-history resolve because of the promotion of sciences over humanities. This phenomenon is theorised as Perpetual Stagnation a model that explains how Black African parents' narratives in relation to school history have remained largely negative regardless of change in

time and circumstances. Therefore, the study concludes that Black African parents viewed apartheid as monstrous and evil as well as oppressive system. Also, school history education under apartheid was viewed by participants as meaningless and memory discipline thus leading the participants to dislike the subject. Furthermore, the study showed that in post-apartheid South Africa Black African parents have much expectations for their children while at the same time admitting that school history curriculum has changed for the better since apartheid. In nutshell, the study concludes that while apartheid policies made the school history unlikable to participants, the post-apartheid policies of prioritising mathematics and science has equally made school history unlikable. This stagnation shows how some things have changed in post-apartheid era, while some have remained the same.

LIST OF ACRONYMS

ANC	African National Congress
CAPS	Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement
CLS	Critical Legal Studies
CNE	Christian National Education
CRT	Critical Race Theory
DoE	Department of Education
FET	Further Education and Training
NP	National Party
OBE	Outcome-Based Education
SASHT	South African Society for History Teaching
USA	United States of America

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION TO THE THESIS

We shall reject the whole system of Bantu Education whose aim is to reduce us, mentally and physically, into hewers of wood and drawers of water (Soweto Students Representative Council, 1976 in Christie 1988, p. 12).

1.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I firstly begin by presenting the context of the study and defining the key terms used in the study. I then move on to discuss the background to the study which comprises both apartheid and post-apartheid contexts in South Africa. The background will help shed light in relation to factors that may influence parents to encourage or convince their children to choose certain subjects such as mathematics and science related subjects over other subjects such as history at high school level. I then proceed to explain the rationale and motivation of the study. I also provide the focus and purpose of this research project, and present the main research questions of this study. Furthermore, in this chapter, I briefly discuss the theoretical framework and methodology employed. Towards the end of the chapter, I present the arrangement of this research project followed by a conclusion.

1.2 Background and Context of the study

In this section I focus on the contextualisation of the study. The study was conducted in KwaZulu-Natal and it falls within two important historical and political periods in South Africa namely the apartheid and post-apartheid eras. It is within these periods that the lived experiences of Black African parents who participated in this study evolved as learners back then, and now as parents in the post-apartheid era. As part of its focus, this study seeks to investigate the relationship between Black African parents and school history in the apartheid and post-apartheid contexts and how this

leads parents to produce certain narratives regarding schooling in post-apartheid South Africa.

The year 1948 was considered the turning point in the history of South Africa particularly in the lived experiences of Black Africans (Christie & Collins, 1982). It was in this year that the National Party (NP) came into power and they introduced the system of apartheid which was characterised by racial segregation in all aspects of life between Whites, Indians, Coloureds and Black Africans (Abdi, 2003). Moreover, the NP-led government in 1953, introduced the Bantu Education system intended for Black African learners. Thus according to Christie and Collins (1982), the education of Black Africans was to be part of "...a carefully planned policy of segregated socio-economic development of black people" (p.59). Moreover, through education the apartheid system had intended to advance the interests of the White minority to the detriment of the majority of Black Africans whose education was aimed to provide labour to White owned enterprises such as farms and industries (Christie & Gordon, 1992). According to Said (1978) this can be viewed as a form of internal colonisation in that, white settlers in order to ensure dominance over Black Africans not only dispossessed them of their land but were also used them as cheap labour under a racial system of rule. According to Morrow (1990) Black Africans were not only oppressed but were also disempowered by means of Bantu Education which offered them a sub-standard form of education. Morrow (1990) further highlighted that "apartheid has dehumanised its victims; their dignity and self-esteem as persons, and their intellectual and moral confidence and autonomy, have been damagingly undermined" (p. 176).

As far as school history curricula was concerned during the apartheid era, it was based on the ideology of White supremacy and White privilege with the quest to establish a dominant Afrikaner narrative or historiography (Wassermann, 2017). Furthermore, in order to establish the dominant historiography the system chose to focus on rote learning and a teacher-centred approach as methods of teaching (Wassermann, 2017). Under such pedagogy of teaching and learning, it is important to highlight that, learners were discouraged from critical thinking activities and could not question the content taught in class. Moreover, the school history content was not only a pro-Afrikaner nationalistic narrative but also Eurocentric in approach to the extent that

most Black African people were not acknowledged as citizens of the country but were often depicted in a deplorable manner in history books. Along these lines Wassermann (2017) argues that Black African learners “learnt a history in which they were not citizens and only appeared on the fringes of society as criminals, labourers and troublemakers” (p.2). It follows then that, the apartheid school history curricula wittingly excluded most of the local history content such as the liberation struggle while at the same time promoting distorted history to the glorification of White supremacy and humiliation of most Black African people. Wassermann (2017) adds that “...historical figures such as Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo and organisations such as the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress never featured in master narrative because it was illegal to mention them” (p.3). Thompson (2014) proclaimed that Afrikaner historiography “... made heroes out of the border ruffians who were responsible for the Slagtersnek rebellion in 1815, and it associated God with the victory of the Afrikaner commando over the Zulus at the Battle of Blood River on December 16, 1838” (p. 198). According to Wassermann (2015) such a historiography helped to cement the divisions between Whites and Black Africans as they viewed history differently. For instance, for Whites school history was an instrument that promoted their social, economic and political privileges while on the other hand for Black Africans school history was viewed as a means of oppression that relegated them to subservience and subjugation status (Wassermann, 2017).

According to Stolten (2003) there were high expectations amongst many people in South Africa of the emergence of a triumphant Black African historiography after 1994. However, such expectations, at least for the first few years into democracy, never materialised. However, debates took centre stage in terms of which historiography to be considered in post-apartheid South Africa – the ‘villain Whites’ or ‘victorious Blacks’. Consequently, under these circumstances school history was believed not to be compatible with the new spirit of reconciliation between the Whites and Black Africans who for decades had been divided along racial lines. It is in this context that Wassermann (2017) pointed out that “... school history was viewed as contentious, divisive and problematic and not congruent with new ways of thinking about education and knowledge ...” (p.5). It is important to note that Curriculum 2005 (C2005) is blamed for the relegation of school history to the periphery mainly because history was now

placed under the banner of social sciences and consequently created a perception that history is a dying subject. As a result, according to Ebot (2008) the numbers of history enrolment reduced drastically which therefore led to the establishment of a Ministerial Team, by Minister Kader Asmal, in order to find ways of how to provide an effective history education in the country. However, it was only after the introduction of the Curriculum Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS) in 2011 that school history gained prominence with an improved curriculum.

History plays an indispensable role in any society. From an early age people not only gain political and socio-economic consciousness of the world around them, but also develop their world-view and identity through history. The way people behave or relate to one another is underpinned by social and historical constructs. Firstly, people gain historical consciousness, for example, through oral tradition or - unofficial history - where family and community histories are told, and then through official history – what is learnt at school. For instance, in a society as divided along racial and socio-economic lines such as apartheid South Africa, people's perceptions and attitudes towards one another are closely linked to a perceived historical past of the country which shaped their thinking and attitudes. According to Tosh (1991, p.1) "History is collective memory, the storehouse of experience through which people develop a sense of their social identity and their future prospects". One could argue therefore that, because history is so important, governments tend to align the history curricula with their policies of action mainly because it is viewed as "a critical resource for the active citizen in representative democracy" (Tosh, 1984, p.2008). Thus according to Voss and Wiley (1997), "History has been taught to develop critical thinking skills, as it provides the opportunity for instruction in analysis, synthesis, argumentation, and other aspects of critical thinking" (p. 148). One could therefore argue that history does not happen in a vacuum but within a given historical context with the aim of controlling and shaping the minds of society and the learners in general as well as promoting and maintaining the power and the ideology of the ruling group. Here, ideology refers to the ways in which society adopts the ideas and interests of the ruling group. Such ideas and interests can be instilled in learners through history education. According to Crawford "it is through the history curriculum that nations seek to store, transmit and disseminate narratives which define conceptions of nationhood and national culture"

(2003, p.6). Furthermore, “the curriculum is not our knowledge born of a broad hegemonic consensus, rather it is a battleground in which authority and the right to define what is legitimate knowledge is fought over and where particular knowledge and selected organising principles receive the official stamp of approval” (Crawford 2003, p.6).

This was the case under apartheid where the education system was designed to promote an ideological supremacy, in that the education system was a privilege that Whites alone fully enjoyed. Such privilege was enhanced or reinforced by the implementation of a racist and separatist education system that denied access to quality education to most Black Africans in South Africa.

However, before the introduction of the apartheid system in 1948 “black schooling in South Africa was almost entirely mission education, controlled and operated in relative independence and isolation by various Christian missionary groups” (Reagan, 1989, p.6). The autonomy of the mission schools ended when the NP ascended into power. This was evidenced by the promulgation of the Bantu Education Act of 1953 (Reagan, 1989).

This policy move by the NP government was, however, received with great disapproval by many churches, for example, the Roman Catholic and the Anglican churches who had for decades been at the forefront of education provision for Black African people in South Africa. It is in this context that Nkondo (1979) pointed out that:

Mission schools which for years had been doing excellent in education of blacks were forced to use the syllabus of the Bantu Education. In protest, the Anglican Church decided to close down its school, the Catholic Church grudgingly accepted the policy in order to have some authority over its schools (p. 17).

St Francis College in Mariannhill, outside Pinetown in KwaZulu-Natal, the site of this research project, is one such school that continued to provide quality education to Black Africans at the height of the Bantu Education system. Such schools played a pivotal role during the apartheid years in that they served as the breeding ground for the African intelligentsia. Furthermore, these schools played a vital role in education

in upholding moral values and non-racialism. Some important African household names to have benefited from such schools and more specifically St Francis College in Mariannhill include the “Black Consciousness leader Steve Biko, former Minister of Defence in the ANC government leader of the Congress of the People (COPE) Mosiuoa Lekota, former Minister of Communications in the ANC government Ivy Matsepe-Casabury, former Minister of Arts in the ANC government Ben Ngubane and former Premier of KwaZulu-Natal Frank Mdlalose”, (Langa, 2008). Such a list of Black African intelligentsia could be seen as contrary to the very principles of Bantu education in that under this system Black Africans were strictly earmarked for an inferior education. The education and training of Black Africans was to make them objects of the labour force with no rights whatsoever in all respects. Certainly, the objectives of Bantu Education are clearly spelt out in the speech made by Dr Hendrik Verwoerd –who was the Minister of Native Affairs at the time and later the Prime Minister of South Africa - regarding the fate of Black Africans as far as education is concerned:

When I am Controller of Native Education I will reform it so that the natives will be taught from childhood to realise that equality with Europeans is not for them. What is the use of teaching the Bantu child mathematics, when it cannot use it in practice? The Bantu must be guided to serve his community. There is no place for him in the European community above certain forms of labour. Education must train and teach people in accordance with their opportunities in life – according to the sphere in which they live, quoted in (Birley, 1968).

The above ideas serve to affirm the NP government’s position with regards to the existence and the role of Black Africans in the South African economy. Therefore, the government’s position was linked to political and economic lines.

At a political level, people were separated on the basis of race which was an integral part of the National Party (NP) strategy aimed at supporting the apartheid-capitalist system which led to the establishment of the Bantu Education system (Christie & Collins, 1982; Hyslop, 1988; Reagan, 1989; Morris & Hyslop, 1991) that not only placed Black Africans in a sub-standard position but also it dispensed inferior and unequal education in order to sustain and safe-guard White supremacy. For instance, “public services for Blacks were characteristically inadequate or non-existent. In the

homelands women still walked miles every day to fetch water and firewood... Schools, hospitals, public transport for Blacks were sharply inferior” (Thompson, 2014, p.201). These underprivileged conditions worked against ambitions and dreams of many Black African parents as far as prospective career goals were concerned. However, the system favoured the Whites and they “were conditioned to regard apartheid society as normal, its critics as communists or communists sympathizers” (Thompson, 2014, p.201), which made most White South Africans view Blacks as inferior, lazy individuals. This suggests that Black African parents – back then as learners were at the receiving end during the apartheid era, but today are in a position to make choices not only for themselves but for their children too.

At an economic level, the apartheid system strategically used education racial legislation to control and undermine the dignity and integrity of Black Africans. That is, through the segregated and racialised education system the majority of Black Africans were denied access to quality education coupled with poor facilities and overcrowded classrooms. This impacted negatively on the ambitions and aspirations of Black Africans parents as far as social mobility through education is concerned. On the contrary, Whites education was of a high quality and compulsory and they had “privileged access to high-level jobs and high wages” (Thompson, 2014, p.200). This means, the education systems for Blacks were ingeniously designed to respond to the apartheid-capitalist system. In that with an inferior education Black Africans were condemned for subjugation as they could not think or dream of high paying jobs or to pursue careers of their choices. The main objective of the government was to condition Black African people to be content with their underprivileged situation as a normal standard thus complementing the apartheid rhetoric of Blacks are inferior and Whites are superior. It is in this context that (Du Preez, Du Preez, & Home, 1983) pointed out that “the Supreme Being has willed that nature establish a dividing line between Black and White and ordained that the Blacks shall remain forever subordinate” (p. 74). With this understanding Black African parents grew-up and socialised in a context where Black African people were generally seen as mere instruments to galvanise and propel the apartheid capitalism to greater heights. In addition, the Homeland system – which further divided the Blacks on the base of their ethnicity – was aimed at channelling the

supply of cheap labour to White-owned enterprises and businesses. It is in this context that Verwoerd speaking of education for Black Africans pointed out that:

Native education should be controlled in such a way that it should be in accord with the policy of the state... If the native in South Africa today in any kind of school in existence is being taught to expect that he will live his adult life under a policy of equal rights, he is making a big mistake (Thompson, 2014, p.196).

This suggests that the apartheid system deliberately chose to neglect the education of Black Africans and thus relegating them to remain farm labourers and mineworkers as opposed to becoming engineers and doctors. For instance, the Black youth or learners in the 80s tired of oppression and seeing their own parents toiling for meagre pay became more determined and were resolute to challenge the status quo at the time and demanded equality:

Our parents, the workers are strong. They have power. We, the students, cannot shake the government in the same way. We have got to link up our struggle with the struggle of the black workers. Our parents have got to understand that we will not be “educated” and “trained” to become slaves in apartheid-capitalist society. Together with our parents we must try to work out a new future. A future where there will be no racism or exploitation, no apartheid, no inequality of class or sex (Reagan, 1989, p. 11).

This is the future that today in the post-apartheid era Black African parents are experiencing characterised by a myriad of opportunities that they hardly had during the apartheid era. Politically, Black African parents’ had to face the apartheid strict laws and regulations in all aspects of their lives. For instance, the laws “confirmed or imposed segregation for taxis, ambulances, hearses, buses, trains, elevators, benches, cafes, restaurants, and hotels, as well as schools and universities” (Thompson, 2014, p.197). Such laws were aimed at controlling the movements of Black people and for them to know that they cannot mix or share amenities with the Whites. Today the wishes of the Black African youth have been materialised in that politically South Africa has surpassed the barriers of race, religion and ethnicity, and embraced constitutional democracy thus promoting equality and commitment to address the imbalances of the past where individuals are free to pursue their career choices at any institution of learning.

Therefore, Black Africa parents who have both experiences of apartheid and post-apartheid eras are now living in an environment of a myriad of possibilities for their children. This is contrary to the environment when they were learners during apartheid. Such difference seems to be at the centre of Black African parents' influence over their children (learners) to select certain subjects such as mathematics, accounting and science as these are linked to high paying jobs. Education in post-apartheid South Africa "has become heavily tied to social mobility and middle-class status, so the relative lack of schooling for blacks has severe consequences for income distribution and standard of living" (Pazich & Teranishi, 2012, p.155). As a result, some Black African parents seem to be discouraging their children from choosing history, therefore the purpose of this study is to investigate the narratives of Black African Parents as they relate to school history in both the apartheid and post-apartheid contexts in South Africa.

It is important to note that, Bantu Education was not acceptable to many Black Africans (Horsthemke, Siyakhwazi, Walton, & Wolhuter, 2013, p.33); because it was an education system based along racial lines that sought to serve the interests of the nationalists ideology of apartheid to the detriment of the Black African majority (Horsthemke, et. al., 2013). As a result, Black African learners were not only denied access to quality education, but they also saw their aspirations of accomplishing their dream careers being dashed. This means Black Africans could not dream of pursuing careers of their choice that would put them on par with their White counterparts. Apart from its separatist nature, one of the objectives of Bantu Education was to maintain Black Africans as hewers of wood and drawers of water (Thobejane, 2013).

It is against this background that history was taught. It is important to note that, history lessons were closely monitored by government authorities who regularly visited schools in order to ensure that what was being taught in history classrooms was in tune with the school history curricula. It is in this context that Kallaway (1995, p. 79) pointed out that "teachers were monitored much more carefully and liable to dismissal if they engaged in the very practices which were defined as bringing politics into classrooms." For instance, the South African film; *Sarafina*, clearly highlights this fact when showing police arriving at a school in Soweto as part of their random checks and accusing the teacher of teaching communism instead of the authorised curriculum only because the teacher was trying to instil a critical and analytical mind in her history

learners. Expressed differently, learners were discouraged from asking critical questions in the classroom. It is in this context that Wassermann (2015, p.131) points out that “since both learners and teachers were expected to subscribe to History in an uncritical manner, educational engagement with controversial issues hardly ever occurred and multiple perspectives to topics were not explored.”

Moreover, the content of school history contained distorted information thereby undermining the integrity of Black Africans. For instance, African leaders like Shaka were often depicted in history books in a negative way:

African history was amusing, we sat motionless and listened attentively... The ancestral heroes of our fathers, the great chiefs who our parents told stories about, were in class described as blood-thirsty animal brutes; Shaka the, the brilliant general who welded the Mnguni tribulets into a unified and powerful Zulu nation, the greatest war machine in South African history, was described as psychopath (Bottaro, Visser, & Worden, 2005).

Such misrepresentation was aimed at promoting the identity and the ideological supremacy of apartheid and Whiteness. Engelbrecht (2006) argues that “under apartheid, history was offered in a way that justified Afrikaner domination and Afrikaner struggles for self-determination. That heroic struggle for survival formed the core of South African history curriculum” (Engelbrecht, 2006, p.72). From its inception the Bantu Education system was faced with serious challenge from most Black African people. Such resentment culminated with the students’ uprising against Afrikaans as medium of instruction on 16 June 1976 (Horsthemke, et al., 2013).

Furthermore, with reference to language, the usage of mother-tongue as language for instruction in Black African schools impacted negatively on the educational progress of Black African learners. According to Zungu (1977), the Bantu Education system “sought to use mother-tongue instruction in all primary levels and by the 1960s had extended to some high school levels” (p. 211). The rationale behind this was to deliberately inhibit any possible academic progress of Black Africans to higher level of education and “to restrict the acquisition of information, especially technical and scientific because African languages do not have a developed terminology to deal with concepts and phenomenon commonly found in these areas” (Zungu, 1977). Therefore, such restrictions worked against the prospects of Black African learners successfully advancing in their studies, and this tallied with the apartheid policy of separate

development where Black Africans were, except when needed for labour, to remain in their homelands.

When the ANC came into power in 1994, it marked yet another turning point in the history of South Africa and its people. One of the immediate goals of the ANC led government, was to effect changes in the education system and such changes were aligned to its national policy of an inclusive education system aimed at “redressing inequalities and deficiencies of the past” (Lomofsky & Lazarus 2001, p.306). According to Mittler (2000), inclusive education is “based on a value system that recognises and celebrates diversity arising from gender, nationality, race, social background, and level of education achievement or disability” (p.5). Therefore, the main objective of the inclusive education is to cater for all learners irrespective of their race or background as well as establishing support systems which will ensure that all learners had access to quality education.

Under the ANC led government there has been a paradigm shift from the separatist education system that promoted White supremacy to an inclusive education system underpinned by democratic principles that are enshrined in the constitution. Such a shift necessitated a change, not only in school history curricula, but also in the Education curriculum in general. Under the new democratic dispensation every citizen has been empowered with human rights and most importantly the right to access quality education. In this regard, “Since 1994, the Apartheid educational legacy has been dismantled and a new curriculum, the National Curriculum Statement (NCS), and a new educational philosophy, Outcomes Based Education (OBE), have been implemented” (Wassermann, 2015, p.131). Moreover, studies show that “Black Africans had to overcome the burden of Bantu Education, which deliberately neglected education in science and mathematics and rested on a racist anthropology designed to generate cheap labour for what remained a colonially organised economy” (Asmal & James, 2001).

But 21 years after the demise of the apartheid system, the ANC government seems to create perceptions that some disciplines, such as mathematics and science subjects, are more relevant and important than others. As a result, subjects such as history seem to be losing their significance within the schooling system. According to Asmal and James (2001), the South African population is ill-equipped in science,

mathematics, and technology, and therefore poorly prepared to meet the challenges of globalization. Therefore, through the ANC led government policies, the country took a position to fast-track technical skills and know how in the fields of mathematics and science (Asmal & James, 2001). On the other hand, (Kallaway 2012, p.23) argued that school history “has not received the same attention as science and maths in the post 1994 debates and was to a large extent side-lined by curriculum 2005 and OBE.” The apparent lack of interest in school history soon after the democratic dispensation led many to perceive school history as a dying subject with no relevance attached to it. As a result, some parents influenced the subject choice of their children at high school level by encouraging them to choose the science stream subjects as these are believed to be linked to lucrative careers such as mathematics and science to the detriment of other subjects such as history.

Studies show that parental influence is closely linked with the significant impact on career opportunities and rewards (Useem, 1992; Ma, 2009; Schnabel, Alfeld, Eccles, Köller & Baumert, 2002). So, often, such parental influence is done at the expenses of the learner’s ability and freedom of choice of subjects that would be in line with the learner’s dream career.

Moreover, the ANC government’s emphasis on mathematics and science subjects could explain the decline in the number of learners choosing school history as at high school level. Therefore, one could argue that both apartheid and post-apartheid eras relegated the significance of history in society to a dying subject.

For that reason, all these aspects would help shed light on the primary goal of this study which is to investigate the narratives of Black African parents as they related to school history in apartheid and post-apartheid context with reference to their past schooling and history education experiences. Also, these aspects will further help illuminate Black African parents’ positioning towards their children regarding subject choice at a high school level with specific reference to school history. Moreover, the study is rooted in schooling and school history experiences of the Black African parents under apartheid which set the basis in trying to understand the narratives of Black African parents whether their children do school history or not. This is also why this study will adopt Critical Race Theory (CRT) as its theoretical lens in order to

investigate the narratives of Black African parents as they relate to school history in both apartheid and post-apartheid South Africa. Through CRT the study will be able to investigate both the schooling context and experience of parents (as learners then) and now as parents and their attitudes as history education and schooling are concerned in post-apartheid South Africa.

1.3 Locating the study

The study is conducted in South Africa, in the province of KwaZulu-Natal (KZN). It focussed mainly on one of the historically Black schools in the province of KwaZulu-Natal (KZN). This study was conducted in St Francis College - Mariannhill, a historic school. It is important to note that institutions identified as historic schools played a pivotal role during the apartheid years and they remained steadfastly committed in the provision of quality education and the training for many Black intellectuals. For instance, Steve Biko while still doing Form V in 1965 at St Francis College-Mariannhill wrote: "Mariannhill has been a source of great inspiration to us. The history of the College shows that she has produced teachers by the thousands, doctors and lawyers galore, priests and many other distinguished figures. Therefore may we not expect to swell this list one day also?" (St Francis' College Mariannhill, 1965, p.32). During the apartheid era the school was characterised by a vastly different feeling: it was infused with a spirit of determination which impacted on everyone; learner, visitor alike. According to a former teacher, who is now retired, the large number of religious sisters and priests who taught at the school were selfless, dedicated, and imparted this spirit to all. She added that, there was hard work, focus, less noise and no littering could be seen around the school premises. The former teacher emphasised that "...no laziness was tolerated, and learners gave of their best because mediocrity was not accepted. Any learners who failed June examinations could not return to complete the year, thus all learners worked hard to avoid that". As mediocrity was not tolerated, learners learnt to really think through their work, debated with excellence, read much and were really knowledge gatherers. The religious teaching staff had much pride in their school, which had a well-deserved name for excellence all round – in sports, academic results, debate or provincial/national competitions. The former teacher further explained that

there was a strong sense of religion, with learners influenced by a strong sense of faith and values, and that the learners were brought up in traditional African family schools before coming to St Francis College. It is through this history of excellence that today many Black African parents send their children into these schools but paradoxically most of these parents seem not keen to allow their children to choose history as a subject. These schools were under the tutelage of the missionaries and the church and, as explained above, had to later conform to Bantu Education to remain open.

1.4 Rationale and Motivation for the study

My motivation to pursue this research project is based on my personal, professional, conceptual, and scholarly interests. On a personal level, this study is closely interwoven with my interest for the subject of school history. Such an interest and passion made me realise that history as a subject plays a significant role in society, as it helps people understand the factors linked with historical and societal development of the world in which we live. However, such an importance of school history, particularly in South Africa, is gradually losing its prominence as it is considered to be a 'dying subject'.

One key factor that triggered me to pursue this study is linked to an experience that involved a Grade 10 learner and her parent. The learner in question was physically assaulted by her father because the learner decided to drop accounting in favour of school history some years ago. Such a decision to choose history came after the learner had performed poorly in accounting during the first term. Such an attitude by the parent not only undermines the integrity of the learner and the freedom of subject choice, but also served to hinder the learner's ability of discovering and developing her own character that would lead to personal satisfaction in the future. Thus Ireh (1999), asserts that "one of the most important aspects of an individual's personal happiness is affected by one's career choice" (p. 29). Expressed differently, based on my observation as a history educator, some learners find themselves in history class only because they could not perform well in some of the subjects as recommended by their parents. For instance, at the beginning of the third term several years ago, five learners joined my history class due to poor performance in mathematics.

It is therefore clear that, some parents view history as a boring subject while others, see it as a subject for dull learners. Such negative perceptions of school history reflect parents' experience and attitude towards school. Such an understanding, not only influence learners to view the subject of history as irrelevant and not worth studying, but also impacts negatively on those learners who could be interested in doing school history. No one would want to be associated with a boring subject ear-marked for dull learners.

On a professional level, I consider myself as a dedicated history educator at a high school level – Further Education and Training (FET) Phase. I have been teaching school history for many years now, and it is through such experience and passion about the subject that motivated me to pursue this inquiry. This study is undertaken with the aim of improving my career and deepening my understanding of the various factors that shape the field of history education thus improving my teaching practice.

Also, through this research project I will further enlighten my understanding of the changing dynamics in the field of history education. Moreover, through the study I will also improve my research abilities as well as creating possible job prospects as an academic or researcher in public and private institutions as well as in Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs). Expressed differently, through this research project I further hope to contribute to the field of history education.

At a conceptual level, I have been motivated to pursue this research project by the quest to understand the two main concepts that underpin this study namely: Black African parents and school history. These concepts are of great significance to this study and to myself as a researcher in that I have the undertaking to attempt to understand the factors that influence Black African parents in relation to school history in post-apartheid schooling in South Africa. It is important to note that the concept Black African has political connotations, and therefore the past experiences of Black African parents – as learners back then – have direct bearing on the manner they view school history now – as parents – in the post-apartheid context in South Africa. Moreover, school history has undergone a significant metamorphosis from apartheid to the current democratic dispensation in South Africa, and therefore, my conceptual

motivation is centred on the quest to deeply understand the existing relationship between these two concepts that underpin this study.

At a scholarly level, I was firstly motivated to conduct this study to contribute specifically to the field of history education. Dealing with the concepts of Black African parents and school history in this study, will provide me with an opportunity to understand these concepts in relation to the theoretical framework - Critical Race Theory - which underpins this study as well as the adopted methodology for the study, narrative inquiry. Modiri (2012) asserts that CRT in South Africa is “justified by a long history of institutionalised white supremacy and white racial privilege which today coexists with ongoing forms of anti-black racism and exclusion” (p.405). Therefore, CRT in this study will help shed light on Black African parents’ past schooling and school history experiences, and how these experiences influence their narratives in relation to school history in post-apartheid context. Moreover, with this research project, I hope to contribute to the academic fraternity most importantly in the field of history education.

1.5 Purpose of the study

Without doubt parents play a significant role in the upbringing and education of their children. Therefore, the main purpose of this study is to investigate the narratives of Black African parents as they relate to school history in both the apartheid and the post-apartheid contexts. The purpose of understanding and analysing these narratives is done by analysing the relationship between parental influence and whether their children do school history or not at high school level.

1.6 Focus of the study

The focus of this study is to investigate the relationship between parents, and school history in apartheid and post-apartheid eras and how this leads parents to produce certain narratives regarding post-apartheid schooling in South Africa and how this impacts on their children.

1.7 Research questions

The following are the key research questions on which this study is focused:

1. What are the narratives of Black African parents as they relate to school history in both the apartheid and post-apartheid eras?
2. How do the parental narratives explain why their children do school history or not?

1.8 Definition of key terms used in the study

Black African: the term Black African in this study refers to a group of people previously categorised as 'Black' under the apartheid system. They were disadvantaged in all aspects of life such as living areas, including education. This group shared much in common for example historical experience of exploitation, oppression and racial segregation and discrimination. However, under the new democratic dispensation an attempt has been made to redress the racial categorisation in South Africa. According to Posel (2001) the Employment Equity Act of South Africa defines the term 'Black' to refer "...to all those previously classified as 'African', 'Coloured' or 'Indian'" (p. 50). Therefore, for the purpose of this study Black African is with reference to the people classified as 'Black' or 'African' under apartheid.

Parents: in this study the term parents refers mainly to the participants of the study who were learners during apartheid and are now parents in post-apartheid South Africa. But the term is used to refer to the parents of the participants during the apartheid era. The common understanding of the concept of parent is that of one being a biological father or mother to an individual, and who is expected to exercise specific duties and responsibilities towards the development and growth of his or her children. Ceka and Murati (2016) posit that the concept parent must be understood as an integral part of "planning and decision to children birth, care and contribution towards rising the children and parental activities and responsibilities" (p. 61). Extending this line of thought are Vassalo, Smart and Price-Robertson's (2009) argument that the fundamental responsibility of parents is to "...nature, support and guide their children's

development” (p.8). It is important, however, to note that the term parent is more than being a biological parent to an individual because there are many people who play the role of parent without necessarily being a biological father or mother to the individual under their care, when the biological parent(s) are not available or not in a position to provide the necessary care and guidance to children. Under these circumstances, according to Louw’s (2008) argument “...a third party may such as grandmother may be awarded parental responsibilities and right in cases when the parents cannot do nor exercise their rights, duties and responsibilities in the best interest of their children” (p.35). For example, some participants in this study are not the biological parents of the learners whom they support at school but guardians who provide everything for the learners as biological parents would do. In this study the term parents refers mainly to the participants of the study who were learners during apartheid and now parents in post-apartheid South Africa.

School history: in this study, the term school history refers to the official history (Low-Beer, 2003) taught in schools. Therefore, school history content is regulated by the government and teachers or educators are expected to implement the curriculum. In South Africa the school history curriculum is regulated by the Curriculum Assessment Policy Statements (CAPS) which is a national curriculum. Under apartheid school history followed the curricula based on race.

Narrative Inquiry: the term narrative inquiry in this study refers to the research methodology adopted for the study. As a research methodology, narrative inquiry is mainly concerned in understanding people lived experiences in a narrative way (Clandinin, 2013). This will be dealt with in more details in Chapter 4.

1.9 Theoretical framework of the study

This study is underpinned by Critical Race Theory (CRT). The primary goal of critical race theorists “is to examine issues of race in educational settings with regards to their historical and local contexts” (Chapman, 2013, p.613). This means that the historical and local contexts of Black African parents have an influence on their views and attitudes towards school history. Modiri (2012) asserts that CRT in South Africa is “justified by a long history of institutionalised white supremacy and white racial

privilege which today coexists with ongoing forms of anti-black racism and exclusion” (p.405). Therefore, CRT in this study will help shed light on Black African parents’ past schooling and school history experiences, and how these experiences influence their narratives in relation to school history in a post-apartheid context.

CRT first emerged in the United States of America (USA) during the 1970s when “various legal scholars felt limited by work that separated critical theory from conversations about race and racism” (Yosso, Parker, Solorzano & Lynn, 2004, p.2). Therefore, CRT “grew as a radical alternative to dominant perspectives of critical legal studies” (Gillborn, 2006, p.9). The legal scholars were greatly concerned that the invaluable gains attained by the Civil Rights Movement during the 1960s “were being rolled back” (Delgado & Stefancic, 2011). It is in this context that Crenshaw noted that critical race theorists sought “both a critical space in which race was foregrounded and a race space where critical themes were central” quoted in (Yosso et al., 2004, p.2).

Thus, CRT being a race-centred approach seeks primarily to provide “a lens through which to question, critique, and challenge the manner and methods in which race, white supremacy, supposed meritocracy, and racist ideologies have shaped and undermined policy efforts” (Harper, Patton, & Wooden, 2009, p.309). This suggests that CRT is not only committed to dealing with issues of race and racism but as an interdisciplinary in nature it also remains committed to transforming society into a better place by promoting social justice. Though CRT emerged in the USA as an attempt to address racial/racist challenges or oppression faced by the minority groups such as African Americans it is however a suitable theory to understand the Black African parents’ experiences in both apartheid and post-apartheid eras.

Therefore, based on these facts, CRT is an appropriate framework to examine issues of race and racism and social justice in that in its approach critical race theorists also consider the people’s stories or life experiences. Such an approach allows the research to get first hand data by engaging and listening to the participants’ stories or narratives as they relive their past experiences thereby making new meanings. Thus according to Clandinin (2013), people’s experiences are a “knowledge that is personal, practical, shaped by and experienced in practice”, (p.9). On this note, this study will draw on CRT in order to understand Black African Parents’ narratives in apartheid and

post-apartheid South Africa. CRT as theoretical framework of the study will be discussed in detail in Chapter 3.

1.10 Research design and methodology

It is necessary to note that this research project is positioned within a critical paradigm, and grounded on qualitative approach or research. I adopted critical paradigm in order to best investigate Black African parents' narratives in relation to school history in both apartheid and post-apartheid contexts (see chapter 4).

1.11 Organisation of the study

This research study comprises eight chapters which will be organised as follows: Chapter 1 being the introduction gives the overview of the entire thesis. It begins firstly with the background context as well as the rationale and motivation for the study. Also the chapter highlights the significance of the study, statement and the research problem. Furthermore, the chapter highlights the purpose and focus, research questions as well as the conceptual framework for the study. Towards the end of the chapter, I present qualitative research methods such as narrative inquiry with semi-structured questions, and my observations as an educator as methods for data collection.

Chapter 2 of this study focuses on the literature review. Which entails trying to understand other researchers' work on the topic. Chapter 3 dwells on theoretical aspect of the study. The literature is interwoven by Critical Race Theory (CRT) the theoretical framework on which the study is based. Chapter 4 focuses on the methodology of the study which is narrative inquiry, while chapters 5 and 6 focus on data analysis and the presentation of findings. Chapter 7 focuses on discussions of findings, and Chapter 8 presents the conclusion of the study and recommendations for further studies.

1.12 Conclusion

This chapter has served to introduce my PhD research project. I began with a brief discussion about the context of the study; I defined the key concepts used in this study. With the background of the study, I attempted to discuss the issues that impacted on the lived experiences of Black African parents in both apartheid and post-apartheid contexts. Such issues include the social, economic and political environment or context in which the experiences of Black African Parents have evolved, within a given period. Therefore, both the contextualisation and background of the study helped shed light on what constitutes the research problem. After the background I went on to present the rationale and motivation of the study, which was then followed by a brief presentation of the purpose and focus of the study. I then moved on to present the research questions for the study before I could locate the study within time and space. Additionally, I briefly discussed the Critical Race Theory (CRT) which is the theoretical framework that underpins the study before I could discuss the research design and methodology that I adopted for this study. Also, this chapter presented the organisation or an overview of the study, followed by a conclusion of the chapter. The following chapter will review in more detail the relevant literature for the study.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

A man who reviews the old so as to find out the new is qualified to teach others (Hofstee 2001, p. 91).

2.1 Introduction

As mentioned in the previous chapter, this study must be understood against the background of the impact of the Bantu Education Act of 1953 on Black Africans in South Africa and education under the democratic dispensation since 1994. The Bantu Education system sought mainly to advance the interests of the White minority in terms of quality education to the detriment of most Black Africans whose education was aimed at providing labour to White owned enterprises and industries. On the other hand, the democratic dispensation has and is still redefining the education system in line with the demands of the global world as characterised by the ANC neoliberal policies to fast-track technical skills and know how in the fields of mathematics and science. In this chapter, I review the relevant literature which is associated with the topic of this study. The chapter is also organised into various themes or subheadings which were selected based on their importance to the study. Therefore, the chapter is organised as follows: How to conduct and present a literature review; the nature of school history; race and history; values and uses of school history; school history under apartheid; school history in the post-apartheid era; parents and the education of their children, and parents and school history. The chapter ends with a conclusion.

2.2 How to conduct and present a literature review

A literature review plays a vital role in any research project. Before a researcher can begin with the process of writing up a research project, he or she must firstly attempt to acquaint himself or herself with the debates and issues related to the field of interest and the topic of the study. According to Shaw (2017), the main reason researchers conduct literature reviews is to find out what previous studies say about the topic in which the researcher is interested. Shaw (2017) adds that a literature review is not only about placing the reader abreast with the current debates or information on the topic but also serves to identify the knowledge gap which provides future justification in the same field of interest. So, what is a literature review?

Hart (1998) conceptualises a literature review as:

The selection of available documents – both published and unpublished – on the topic, which contain information, ideas, data and evidence written from a particular standpoint to fulfil certain aims or express certain views on the nature of the topic and how it is to be investigated and effective evaluation of these documents in relation to the research being proposed (p.13).

In agreement with the above line of thought is Robson's (2011) assertion that a comprehensive literature review is a systematic way to identify, locate and analyse documents that contain the relevant information related to the topic of the study. Shaw (2017) explicates that conducting a literature review comprises two main phases namely; "searching for evidence base; and critical evaluation of evidence" (p. 41). In other words, during the first phase the researcher 'excavates' what is already known and this will in turn be critically evaluated during the second phase to ascertain methodological quality and trustworthiness (Shaw, 2017) of the research project. This means, in conducting a literature review the researcher is not merely providing a summary of previous studies but engages such studies in a more critical approach from a superficial knowledge into an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon under study.

Therefore, the above suggests that the process of conducting a literature review is an integral part of a plan that directs the researcher throughout the study which will ensure that the researcher gains more knowledge about the topic. It is important to highlight

that, while the researcher reviews the past documents which are relevant to his or her topic, at the same time he or she also begins to reflect about the research questions for the research project.

One can argue therefore that conducting a literature review is not a straight forward process but requires the researcher to demonstrate acceptable skills and abilities to weave together the relevant information gained from the process of reviewing the literature. Gray (2009) posits that the process of conducting literature review is not a single event as it may continue up to the writing stage since the research may generate new issues and ideas that the researcher may want to investigate through the literature.

Therefore, studies (Du Plooy-Cilliers, Davis, & Bezuidenhout, 2014; Gray, 2009; Robison, 2011) show that it is the purpose of a literature review to put the study into perspective thereby allowing the researcher to critically identify the major arguments within the field of interest in relation to what has been published in the past, to identify the gaps in knowledge that are worthy of further investigation, and to identify appropriate research methods and instruments for data collection. Such attributes of a literature review serve to provide a quality research project. It is in this context that Hart (1998) highlighted that quality research "...means appropriate breadth and depth, rigour and consistency, clarity and effective analysis and synthesis ..." the use of the ideas in the literature to justify the particular approach to the topic, the selection of methods (p.1).

It is important to note that research studies are conducted within different research approaches. For this research study, I adopted a qualitative approach as this best compliments the methodology for the study which is narrative inquiry. Therefore, as part of the literature review I began by focussing on secondary literature sources. According to Du Plooy-Cilliers et al., (2014), secondary sources include the published works such as journals and books, whereas primary sources relate to the interviewing schedule. This means, I began by gathering relevant data from the secondary literature sources with the aim of illustrating the topic which is: Black African parents and school history: A narrative inquiry; and also to provide me with the necessary evidence regarding current knowledge and debates in my field of interest. This means the literature review was not only limited to the nature of schooling and school history

in both apartheid and post-apartheid contexts but also it included the review of the theoretical framework which underpins this study the CRT, as well as the methodology of the study - narrative inquiry. This was to ensure that I gained the necessary knowledge and information about how race was critical in the lived experiences of the participants as far as schooling and school history were concerned. Therefore, the thorough review of secondary sources placed me in a better position to select the appropriate tool for data collection. In other words, since the study adopted narrative inquiry as a methodology I saw it appropriate to choose semi-structured interviews as a means for data collection. The literature review will be presented thematically in order to present the main subheadings or themes under discussion. The themes that form the basis of focus in this chapter include; the nature of school history; race and school history; the values and uses of school history; school history under apartheid; school history in the post-apartheid era; parents and the education of their children. The selected themes contribute to the overall organisation of the chapter as well as helping maintain the focus of the study.

2.3 The nature of school history

School history is an important subject and yet a controversial one. Its controversy is evident as societies and governments continually reform history curricula in order to establish a common identity within a nation state. Based on this line of thought, Kukard (2017) identifies orientations for teaching school history namely; memory history; analytical history and critical history. Therefore, this subsection seeks to discuss the three orientations in relation to the establishment of academic and civil identities.

2.3.1 Memory history identities: academic identity

It is important to note that each nation has its own narrative that unites its citizens. Therefore, memory history plays a vital role in promoting and understanding a national narrative in a country. Kukard (2017) posits that the national narrative tends to be political in approach and focusses on the chronological order of events which highlight key historical moments of a given society. According to Hammack and Pilecki (2012) national or dominant narratives are stories that frame the collective memory amongst

the citizens in a nation-state. Such stories are often embedded with political values and are aimed at promoting national identity amongst citizens (Barton & Levstik, 2004). Expressed differently, history provides individuals with a collective memory and connects them “to place, time and community” (Hunt, 2011, p. 259). This suggests that as an official narrative school history has been viewed as a tool of dissemination of national and political values. It is in this context that Segall (2006) argued that school history “... attempts to convey a digested, and easily digestible, single, coherent best story about the past”. Its purpose is to cohere group identity, promote common collective experience and establish a shared basis for thought, belief, and action (p. 126). Therefore, these values of school history are viewed as the core objective of school history.

2.3.1.1 Memory history identities: Civic identity

History plays a significant role in the creation of civic identity amongst students and citizens of a nation state (Berger, in Carretero, 2017). According to Kukard (2017) for memory history, civic identity, is formed and enhanced through the teaching of national narrative or story that inculcates a sense of pride amongst citizens about their own history and country. In support of this line of thought is Hunt (2011) who posits that school history plays a vital role in “forging a sense of national identity” (p. 263). This suggests that the notion of a nation is an essential ingredient towards the establishment of a national narrative or historiography that everyone would identify with and thereby embracing it as their own and part of their identity. It is in this context that Berger (2017) points out that “... any one individual can only become truly him or herself by facilitating his or her potential as a member of a people or nation” (in Carretero, 2017, p. 42). Therefore, historians who support this orientation of civic identity, not only view school history as an objective knowledge but they see it as “incontrovertible and non-controversial” (Slekar, 2001, p. 66). This suggests that school history is indisputable since its main aim is that of creating a single grand narrative in society. However, critiques of this orientation, memory history: civic identity, maintain that historical knowledge must be gained through interpretation of various perspectives and not rely on a fixed historiography that tends to represent the views of those in power in society. It is in this context that Seixas (2000) posits that

collective memory orientation "...is a desiccated version of the past, a relative meaningless batch of names, dates and events in which the social project of history learning is lost... historical knowledge appears as something fixed by authority rather than subject to investigation, debate, ..." (in Segall, 2006, 126).

2.3.2 Analytical history identities: academic identity

Through this orientation, according to Kukard (2017) students will come to understand how historical knowledge is constructed in society. Also, they will be able to understand that such knowledge is subject to various interpretations. Therefore, based on this line of thought, Kukard (2017) further argues that since national history is based on constructed narratives of the past analytical history is more concerned with how such narratives are interpreted rather than simply accepting them as factual and objective knowledge. It is this context that Barton and Levstik (2004) point out that the purpose for learning history "...is not to retain specific interpretations constructed by historians or found in textbooks but to understand the process of developing historical accounts" (p.82). Once students understand such a process then they will be able to grasp how the history curriculum in use was designed and adopted and moreover what is its main purpose for the society.

2.3.2.1 Analytical identities: Civic identity

For analytical history, the civic identity by teaching students to be critical thinkers, helps to expose them to various scholarly perspectives or views about a particular idea. The civic identity within the analytical history discourages students from being mere passive recipients of knowledge but encourages them to always question the accuracy of such knowledge by asking critical questions (Barton & Levstik, 2004). Expressed differently, students will need to know that there are multiple versions of the past and therefore students will need to explore such versions in order to create various interpretations of the past. This suggests that there can never be a single view of the past. It is in this context that Seixas (2000) argues that students need to "... question historical account, understand the evidentiary base upon which it rests, and assess it in relation to competing accounts" (in Segall, 2006, p. 24). Therefore, through such ability of interpretation of historical accounts, students will be operating within a

disciplinary framework or paradigm or a criterion for deciding what makes a good story (Segall, 2006). For example, linking this to the topic of this study, if we want to better understand the students' *!Fees Must Fall* Campaign in 2015, we must first understand the purpose of the liberation struggle in South Africa and the position of the Freedom Charter in relation to education in a democratic South Africa. It is in this context that Barton and Levstik (2004) point out that "the origins of the present always lie in the past, and those roots cannot be ignored" (p. 71).

2.3.3 Critical history identities: Academic identity

According to Kukard (2017) the academic identity of critical history follows a similar approach of analytical history as it focuses on critical thinking. This suggests that students are not only encouraged to develop a critical mind with regard to the historical knowledge they are taught but also to be able to engage critically with current issues in society. For this, students will need to be abreast with current developments taking place and thereby developing the ability to relate the acquired historical knowledge to their political and social lives in the present (Segall, 2006). Expressed differently, "... current affairs cannot be understood without knowledge of the events leading up to them" (Barton & Levstik, 2004, p. 71). Through critical thinking the student must always seek to deepen his or her understanding of the phenomenon or issue through continuous analysis of issues. Therefore, such continuous search of knowledge and understanding of issues contributes to the development of awareness about social and political issues taking place in society. For instance, knowledge acquisition and information are critical elements in ensuring individual's active participation in a democratic society. Barton and Levstik (2004) argue that participatory democracy requires people that have substantial knowledge for them to make informed decisions. Furthermore, people will also need to have a good grasp of how knowledge is constructed (Barton & Levstik, 2004), as this will train the students not to regurgitate information but allow them to critically evaluate it before they can make a decision. Therefore, based on this, school history within this orientation is a significant tool for emancipation of citizens as well as encouraging them "to deliberate about justice as part of their political culture" (Barton & Levstik, 2004, p. 36).

In order to better engage students with critical thinking about social issues, Barton and Levstik (2004) identify three approaches needed for teaching school history in order to equip students with necessary knowledge and skill which will allow them to actively and constructively participate in a democratic landscape or context. Such approaches include teaching history to promote reasoned judgement; to promote an expanded view of humanity; and teaching history for deliberation over the common good. According to Barton and Levstik (2004) history could be taught to promote reasoned judgement by teaching students to critically think about the various social issues affecting people. Therefore, school history should focus more on humanistic topics because it is such topics that will help stimulate the reasoning abilities of students. The second approach is that school history should adopt an extended view of humanity. This approach encourages students to study other societies to expand their worldview thereby being able to relate what is happening within their country with what happens in other places around the world. Barton and Levstik (2004) argue that school history will play a significant role in this approach because “studying other times and other civilisations demonstrates that our own society represents not only a timeless or universal standard but simply one set of alternatives among many” (p. 37). Furthermore, Barton and Levstik (2004) argue that the purpose for students to know about various alternatives is to discourage a myopic view that difference in understanding is not due to the lack of intelligence but is intertwined within the contexts in which people evolve. Meanwhile, the third approach is that of deliberation over common good. This approach places focus on the social well-being of the people (Barton & Levstik, 2004). This approach will teach students to critically reason and thereby make informed deliberations for the common good of society.

2.3.3.1 Critical history identities: Civic identity

The critical civic identity is closely linked to critical academic identity in that both teach students to face the challenges that people face in society while at the same time looking for possible solutions (Barton & Levstik, 2004). This means that, learners are encouraged to play an active role and be responsible by acknowledging that different issues or problems will require different measures and approaches towards a

sustainable and just solution. In other words, learners would learn to be analytical in approach to different issues and thereby develop a desired citizenship in society.

2.4 Uses and values of school history in society

Under this subheading of the literature review, I will discuss the uses and values of school history as adopted in different societies. According to Thorp (2016) school history is used in different ways in different societies at different times by the dominant classes. The dominant groups in society use school history as to advance their political and ideological objectives. Therefore, under this subheading I discuss some uses and values of school history such as: school history as a propaganda tool to belittle minority others; school history a tool to create national identity; school history as a tool for critical citizenship; school history as a tool for creation of consciousness; and school history used to promote values and moral understanding.

2.4.1 School history as a propaganda tool to belittle minority and conquered groups

The interest that nation-states or dominant classes show about history has to do with the advancement of their economic and political agenda in that history and textbooks in general convey a certain ideology (Pingel, 2008a). For example, this was the case in the United States of America where Black Americans for many years suffered subjugation and racial discrimination. Brown (2010) shows that the plight of Black Americans began when the first group of enslaved Africans arrived in the USA. This marked the start of great inequalities between the 'inferior' Blacks and 'superior' Whites. In support of this relationship Abraham Lincoln the then president of the USA stated that: "I can conceive of no greater calamity than the assimilation of the Negro into our political life as our equal ... we can never attain the ideal union of our fathers dreamed, with millions of alien, inferior race among us, whose assimilation is neither possible nor desirable" (Sampson, 1966, p.27). Such a rhetoric contributed significantly not only in labelling Black Americans as an inferior race but also to "indicate that Black Americans remain on the margins of the dominant narratives" (Cha-Jua & Weems, 1994, p.1409). The idea was to "detach Black Americans from

their moorings in reality and convert them into stereotyped images” (Wynter, 1995, p.21). According to Brown (2010) apart from the constructed stereotypes school history promoted the idea that Blacks did not have any history and they hardly contributed to the success story of the country. Therefore, history was used as propaganda aimed at belittling and undermining the integrity and aptitudes of Black Americans. It is in this context that Brown (2010) pointed out that “traditional history textbooks omitted significant histories, undermined White Americans' complicity in African American oppression, as well as blamed African Americans for their social and educational circumstances” (p. 57). Consequently, this led to the emergence of Black American scholars in the USA who challenged the established White supremacy with regard to constructed stereotypes and distorted historiography about Black Americans. To reclaim their identity and history Black Americans introduced the ‘Negro History week’ in the early 20s which was later renamed ‘Black History Month’. They believed that history was used as a propaganda tool at the expense of minority Black Americans. According to Woodson and Wesley (2008) “excessive emphasis on one type of facts and a corresponding suppression of others - the most frequent practice - conditions the child to preconceptions and false valuations which it takes much time to unlearn”(p. 439). This needed to be corrected and thus a national narrative where every citizen is equally recognised regardless of race was reconstructed. It is in this connection that the then American President Gerald Ford rightly stated:

The last quarter-century has finally witnessed significant strides in the integration of black people into every area of national life. In celebrating Black History Month, we can take satisfaction from this recent progress in the realisation of the ideals envisioned by our Founding Fathers. But, even more than this, we can seize the opportunity to honour the too-often-neglected accomplishments of black Americans in every area of endeavour throughout our history (in Macmillan 2009, p.59).

On the other hand, the Aborigines experienced a similar fate of oppression and subjugation at the hands of the British colonists in Australia. With the British “invasion and settlement of Australia” (Wright, 1988, p.325), the lives of once free natives changed dramatically as the British colonists took charge of their land and disregarded their existence as a people. According to Wright (1988), the marginalisation of Aborigines took root when they were dispossessed of their land, resources and confined in reserves. Also, racial discrimination in institutions of learning was

encouraged which was evidenced by the fact that the history of Aborigines was not considered. Therefore, the views of many oppressed Aborigines regarding their situation were expressed in the following poem: “At the white man's school, what are our children taught? Are they told of the battles our people fought? Are they told of how our people died? Are they told why our people cried? Australia's true history is never read, but the Black man keeps it in his head” (Fien, 1985, p.168). All this was an attempt to exclude the natives from all aspects of life and relegate them to the margins of society.

2.4.2 School history a tool to help learners understand the past

The common understanding of history in society is that of focus and emphasis on the past. The South African Society for History Teaching (SASHT) task team report (2015) states that the nature and purpose of school history is to enable learners and citizens to understand how past human action affects the present and influences our future, thus allowing learners and citizens to evaluate these effects. This suggests that school history must train learners and students to engage in critical thinking not only about what they learn at school but also “about the past, as well as the stories that we tell ourselves” (DoE, 2015, p. 1). Therefore, such an approach by SASHT with regard to the nature, function and purpose of history as a subject contradicts the traditional understanding of many people that history focuses only on the past – dead people and memorising of dates. It is in this context that Thorp (2016) warns against heavy reliance on the past as this can be a dangerous exercise on people’s mind-set and worldview. History needs to be inclusive in approach, in other words it needs to be taught in a manner that blends both past and present experiences in society which will ensure that practical and effective uses of history are taught and introduced amongst learners. That is, the practical use of history will allow learners to engage with issues in a strategic manner by applying analysis and critical thinking, thereby allowing them to make well-informed judgements. In support of this the SASHT (2015) further proclaimed that the approach “to historical knowledge should be analytical and explanatory, dealing with change, continuity and conflict, and complex historical

processes and concepts should be dealt with at levels appropriate to the learning abilities of students” (DoE, p. 1).

The ability of learners to apply an analytical mind presupposes that they need to be aware of the different contexts (temporality and space) in which historical facts or events took place, as this will also help them to understand significant relationships between past and present contexts for them to develop an informed historical knowledge. Thorp (2016) proclaims that:

the level of contextualisation is relevant to their historical understanding. Individuals that display no awareness of the representational practices of history have no means of treating contradictory accounts of history other than rejecting them or accepting them, since they lack a method for analysing historical narratives from the historically relevant perspectives (p.23).

Therefore, based on the above understanding, learners will be able to know that regarding historical knowledge a ‘one size fits all’ theory does not apply because a single perspective of history could be dangerous and detrimental to society because over-emphasis on the past heroic events of a particular racial group over the other can make people fail to understand that history is about providing awareness to learners as to how knowledge is constructed, instead of viewing it as a static subject.

One can argue therefore that the NP-led government during apartheid adopted a supremacist approach to school history because of its focus on “...Afrikaner-centred European perspective in history books that promoted the positive influence of Whites and omitted Blacks, who were seen as obstacles in the path of prosperity” (Engelbrecht, 2008, p. 519). This shows therefore that, people who select school history content do so in order to promote and safeguard certain educational values; nationalistic myths and producing jingoism in textbooks (Asher, 1978). Such selection of content which views the world from a single perspective tends to alienate those who do not feel part of the master narrative or historiography. This was the case with the form of education dispensed to most Black Africans in South Africa. Dean and Sieborger (1995) assert that, “... the content of the school syllabus was chosen to conform to an Afrikaner nationalist viewpoint and to incorporate its major symbols. Black pupils were made to study the same history, from the same Christian National

perspective, as white pupils, no matter how inappropriate it was to their own background” (p. 32). Therefore, the ANC-led government saw a need to shelve history as a subject and place it under social studies. This approach served two purposes to refrain from the heroic historiography of the Afrikaners, which despised and humiliated Black Africans and secondly to deny Black Africans of the anticipated Black historiography that triumphed over White historiography (Engelbrecht, 2008). Therefore, with the understanding of both apartheid and post-apartheid contexts, learners will be able to study the past in order to make sense of the present environment in which they live and thus influencing their own prospects.

Another aspect related to values and uses of school history in society is the process of decolonisation in the African continent, where the independent states began rewriting their once ignored historiography. They used the rewriting of history to promote a patriotic spirit and nationalism amongst their citizens. Therefore, the need to rewrite history was because the historiography which Africans were exposed to in school during the colonial era was basically a white man’s history in which African achievements were completely disregarded (Tosh, 2013). This shows that history is indeed an influential subject and it can be used for different ends, particularly by those in a position of power and authority.

2.4.3 School history contributes to the creation of national identity

Once in a position of power, dominant classes ensure that a common identity and common history is established among citizens, regardless of whether it is a multi-racial society or not. During apartheid, school history was used to promote and justify government's ideology based on racial lines. However, this succeeded in creating different and opposing identities amongst the people in terms of a superior White minority and inferior Black Africans. In other words, history was used as an ideological and political tool (Engelbrecht, 2008) to promote a White supremacist identity. For instance, during apartheid the promotion of Afrikaner identity was evident in school history textbooks. Smith (1988) with reference to the Great Trek, pointed out that “what Afrikaner is there whose heart does not miss a beat when he reflects on the reason for the exodus? Anyone who remains cool after reading of the oppression, injustice and disasters suffered by the poor Boers is unworthy of the name of Afrikaner” (p. 61).

Such a call is aimed at inculcating a spirit of readiness to defend one's integrity, culture and territory. Moreover, it imbues the spirit of belonging and the notion of national identity.

However, with the ushering in of a democratic dispensation in South Africa in 1994, a new national identity was established in the country. The new national identity revolves around the notion of a rainbow nation (Moller, Dickow, & Harris, 1999, p. 246). The idea of a rainbow nation promoted the spirit of reconciliation, unity and non-racialism among all the diverse people in the nation (Moller, Dickow, and Harris, 1999). Furthermore, the idea of a rainbow nation also emphasises a sense of collective identity of all citizens in the country as opposed to what happened during the apartheid years where people were viewed and classified in terms of race. This shows that history as a subject plays an important role in creating national identity and historical cultures in society. Thorp (2016) explains that historical culture deals with how history is disseminated and how knowledge, attitudes and values about meaning that individuals create, help them understand their past, and their present circumstances, thereby enabling them to pave a way forward to the future.

Notwithstanding, the growth of newer, younger generations always necessitates a revision and re-appraisal of the values and understanding of the collective identity. In the democratic dispensation period in South Africa, for instance, the notion of a rainbow nation is no longer as strong, as the national discourse has shifted to the regaining of land by the disposed Black African majority. As much as the restoration of disposed land was part of the narrative of the rainbow nation in the transition stage, it did not go far enough for many members of South African society. School history must take this shift into account, as it continues to pave the way towards a more inclusive future.

2.4.4 School history helps promote the notion of historical consciousness amongst learners

It is important to note that dominant classes around the world have always pursued (and continue to do so) to control and manipulate people's consciousness using history education. Consequently, learners and citizens are then able to form their

consciousness – perceptions, beliefs and worldviews - based on what the dominant narrative disseminates or promotes within a society. Therefore, Thorp (2016) conceptualises historical consciousness as the “awareness that everything around us is historical and relative to historicity. When we appreciate the historicity of everything around us, we come to understand that we must engage critically with everything we experience, perceive and believe” (p. 28).

For instance, “... most public education in continental Europe of modern governments was shaped by the desire to build citizenship through the use of history” (Asher, 1978, p. 58). Such a quest to control school history knowledge in society is often done at the expense of weaker groups’ histories who might not necessarily share similar (socio-economic and political) views with the dominant classes. For instance, during apartheid school history “was used to justify the government's values. Teachers were expected to transmit as fact a view of history that omitted, distorted or vilified the role of blacks, 'coloureds' and Asians in the country's past. African people were cast in a negative light as 'problems' faced by the whites ...” (Dean and Sieborger, 1995, p. 32).

Therefore, such differentiation meant the development of a different consciousness among people in the same society. For instance, the minority White population viewed themselves as rightful owners of the country and deserving of all the privileges that they enjoyed, while on the other hand, for the majority of Black Africans, their consciousness was that of being victims of oppression, discrimination and racial segregation in all aspects of life.

Therefore, according to Subbiah (2016) the nature of school history for a democratic South Africa is to help learners effectively embrace change and help heal the divisions of the past through reconciliation as well as by the “creative nurturing of their historical consciousness” (p. 53).

2.4.5 School history helps promote critical citizenship amongst learners

According to Stearns (1998) school history has always been viewed as a significant tool towards promotion of good citizenship. Through school history learners come to know about the functions and purpose of various government institutions which are

aimed at helping the society in general. It is in this connection that the South African Society of History Teaching (SASHT) pointed out that the way in which history is taught should promote democratic values, and democracy should be introduced through the mode of classroom discourse and the experiences of students in the classroom (DoE, 2015, p. 2). In other words, school history should help learners to acquire necessary knowledge and awareness to be able to deal with their own problems as well as those faced by the community, thereby making them good citizens (Subbiah, 2016).

One can argue therefore that the purpose of school history is to teach learners to be good citizens, and this presupposes that learners would need to be prepared in advance to engage themselves positively in various aspects of social life. In support of this is Barton and Levstik (2004) who posit that one of the fundamental purposes of history is to promote citizenship education. However, it is important to note that, apart from teaching learners about the functionality of various government institutions it is also necessary that learners are taught about human rights and how to become good and responsible citizens. This will help learners not only to understand the kind of problems that their community faces but it will also encourage them to work towards finding ways to help solve such problems. It is in this context that Barton and Levstik (2004) point out that without citizenship education learners would have no idea about their rights, and they would have no basis for making intelligent choices entrusted to them. Therefore, among many other things, school history has the duty to teach learners “the willingness to be responsible as well as teaching them the necessary knowledge and skills and attitudes necessary to make intelligent choices” (p. 29). Therefore, learners would be adequately trained and, in a position to understand issues within a context and at the same time being able to understand other aspects or factors that influence how things operate in society and how people behave in the manner they do. Stearns (1998) further highlights that “studying history encourages habits of mind that are vital for responsible public behaviour, whether as national or community leader, an informed voter, a petitioner or a simple voter” (<https://www.historians.org/about-aha-and-membership/>).

2.4.6 School history can help promote selective values and moral understanding

According to Diorio (1985) for many years now school history has been viewed as one of the better subjects to teach learners morality in schools. Similarly, the Report of the Working Group and Values, recommended for the strengthening of history teaching and training in schools (DoE, 2000). This exposed interest on school history implies that studying history at school is the only opportunity for learners to think and reflect about the society in which they live. For instance, in order to create an effective moral understanding about historical past amongst learners it is therefore necessary that school history make use of the past stories of difficulty that people have endured, to bring awareness in terms of what happened in the past, but most importantly; to inculcate empathy amongst learners thus striving towards a just and better society. Therefore, such an ability to tackle the issues of the past in a positive way will ensure that similar occurrences are avoided in the future. Johannesson (2002) posits that:

More than any other discipline, good history put to good use taught by imaginative teachers can promote reconciliation and reciprocal respect of a meaningful kind, because it encourages a knowledge of the other, the unknown and the different. ... a history of past abuses of human rights does not by itself prevent but can serve as a powerful reminder of the folly of repetition (p. 93).

Therefore, such an approach to school history, especially in a country like South Africa that has endured decades of oppression and being divided along racial lines during apartheid, is necessary for the promotion of values such as reconciliation and equity and redress of the imbalances of the past. In other words, this can help learners to approach difficult topics and situations with a reflective and positive mind, and this “is one of the skills that can be taught and developed through school history, so as to enhance values and moral understanding” (Subbiah, 2016, p.53). Therefore, school history is able to help learners to overcome established biased historical knowledge that helps separate and divide people, and move towards a broader and inclusive conception of justice and moral values (Barton & Levstik, 2004).

The question that remains to be answered, considering the state role of school history, is the exclusion of most learners from a study of history, especially at the level of electing to study history as a subject in the FET phase, the last phase of a high school.

This means that, at a time when moral understanding and values can be instilled in the most correct manner, the majority elect to be excluded, either through their own choice or at the insistence of their parents. This necessitates that, a way must be found, to instil the indispensable values, such as redress, reconciliation and equity, if South African society is to go forward to a nation with a healthy practice of justice, underpinned by moral principles and values.

2.5 School history under apartheid

Through the Bantu Education system of 1953, the NP government introduced a new era in the school history education in South Africa. Not only that the entire education for Black African people was placed under the Native Affairs Department (Kallaway, 1984) but also that school history had a special role towards the establishment of a strong Afrikaner identity and nationalism. Van der Berg and Buckland (1982), explained that school history was used to “to justify the Afrikaner nationalist policies and their position of power by appealing to their interpretation of history, a version inextricably interwoven with a divine calling, and that sees apartheid as divinely ordained and scripturally defensible” (p.23). This shows that during apartheid one of the objectives of the government through school history was to provide Afrikaner propaganda that placed White minority at the forefront of all aspects of life as the sole leaders and beneficiaries. According to Dean and Sieborger (1995), “History was one of the cornerstones of the National Party’s policy of Christian National Education... the content of the school syllabus was chosen to conform to an Afrikaner nationalist viewpoint and incorporate its major symbols” (p.32). Such symbols - also known as *master symbols* – appeared in school textbooks and included the following:

Legitimate authority is not questioned; Whites are superior; Blacks are inferior; The Afrikaner has a special relationship with God; South Africa rightfully belongs to the Afrikaner; South Africa is an agricultural land; The Afrikaners are a farmer nation (*boerevolk*); South Africa is afflicted country; South Africa and the Afrikaner are isolated; The Afrikaner is militarily ingenious and strong; The Afrikaner is threatened; World opinion of South Africa is important; South Africa is the leader of Africa; and the Afrikaner has a God-given task in Africa (Du Preez et al., 1983, p.71).

This suggests that the widely used apartheid master symbols were aimed at legitimizing the status of the Afrikaner as a people with an ultimate right of absolute power and control of everything –including Black Africans – within the South African boundaries. Also, the use of these symbols was for the majority of Black Africans to peacefully accept their position of inferiority without any problems. In other words, “from the point of view of the dominant group it is desirable that as many members as possible of subordinate groups should at least acquiesce in their position in society. Ideally they should regard their subordinate status as inevitable, natural even God-given” (Dean, Heartmann, & Katzen, 1983, p.18). Furthermore, the history syllabus under apartheid was the same for both White and Black learners and, however the history content was primarily meant to instill amongst the Afrikaner learners a sense of pride, identity and belonging at the detriment of most Black African children whose historiography had been ignored. For instance, “the Afrikaner interpretation of history stresses the role of Afrikaner heroes and events such as the Great Trek and Anglo-Boer war. Within this interpretation other groups are treated peripherally” (Dean et al., 1983). It is in this context that Wassermann pointed out that “school history under apartheid contributed to the creation of two distinct racialised identities for White and Black learners. The former socialized and acculturated into a world of social, political and economic privilege and the latter into a world of subservience and subjugation by means of Bantu education with no official history of his own” (2015, p.5). This suggests that, the school history curriculum was designed as an instrument to sow and sustain inequality by promoting social stratification among the different racial groups in the country. According to (Walker & Archung, 2003, p.25) “education of Blacks was embedded in a system of racial segregation designed to promote Whites into leadership, land ownership, and economic control to doom the Blacks to subservience”. The main objective was to promote and establish Afrikaner culture and ideology through indoctrination: “Our Afrikaans schools must not be merely mother tongue schools...they must be places where our children are soaked and nourished in the Christian National Spiritual and cultural stuff of the volk. History must be taught in the light of God’s decreed plan for human race...God ... willed separate nations and people” (quoted in Johnson, 1982, p. 218). This suggests that, school history played a vital role in highlighting the Afrikaner narratives and identity to the detriment of the

Black Africans' identity and history. For example, the history taught in schools at the time was aimed at brainwashing the learners thus creating a misleading picture of the reality. Expressed in another way, school history was intended to focus on the achievements of the Afrikaner nation while at the same time ignoring or undermining the rich history of the Black African people. This suggests that "the history that is taught to the African denies his existence as it is a heroic tale of the rise of the Afrikaner; the heroism of Black resistance to their conquest is hardly charted" (Van der Berg and Buckland, 1982, p.23). For instance, history books were embedded with:

several distortions meant to glorify white colonization, frontier wars, the defeat of African tribes, and white rule; Afrikaans grammar books which abound with examples like: *the kaffir has stolen the knife; that is a lazy kaffir ...* and a literature that teems with non-white characters who are savages or blundering idiots to be despised and laughed at; characters who are inevitably frustrated creatures of city life and decided to return 'home'- to the reserves (Quoted in Clark & Worger, 2004, p. 52).

Similarly, studies also show that:

White children who learn history... are likely to obtain an exaggerated idea of the relative importance of the history of South Africa within the history of civilization, and more specifically are likely to be imbued with the erroneous belief that Africans are permanently tribal and inherently inferior to Whites... (Johnson, 1982, p.223).

Moreover, Steve Biko, commenting on local history emphasised that:

The history of the black man in this country is most disappointing to read. It is presented merely as a long succession of defeats. The Xhosa were thieves who went to war for stolen property; the Boers never provoked the Xhosas but merely went on punitive expeditions to teach the thieves a lesson... Great nation-builders like Shaka are cruel tyrants who frequently attacked smaller tribes for no reason but for some sadistic purpose... If we as blacks want to aid each other we have to re-write our history and produce in it the heroes that formed the core of our resistance to the white invaders unbiased history about us but we have to destroy the myth that our history starts in 1652, the year Van Riebeeck landed at the Cape (Van der Berg & Buckland, 1982, p.23).

As a result of such deliberate misrepresentation many potential would-be historians disliked the subject of history due to misrepresentation of facts as well as relegating the Blacks to subhuman. Furthermore, the association of Blacks with the reserves was to further highlight the idea that Black people are more comfortable with the rural

setting than in a city environment, thus justifying the policy of separate development. It is in this context that (Stolten, 2003, p.3) pointed out that “the black South Africans have been denied access to their own history. The history they learned in school gave them no sense of a past they could identify with, as the whites had colonised the history as well”. Such an approach was aimed at instilling a sense of lack of origin in terms of their existence hence historical past.

For instance, the misleading idea that Black people prefer to be in their reserve areas as referred to as “liking rural areas” depicts a system that methodically alienates and keeps them on the periphery. This is what (Biko & Stubbs, 2002, p.110) called “an institutionalized machinery through laws that restrict them from doing certain things, through heavy work conditions, through poor pay, through poor education”. As a result, Black Africans developed a certain state of alienation by rejecting or seeing themselves as worthless and lesser beings in relation to the White person. Therefore, the Black man attaches all good things to the White man (good man) and the contrary is him. It is in this context that (Biko & Stubbs, 2002, p.111) further note that because of such a situation then the Black man with a weak heart and character would indeed begin to feel that there is something missing in his humanity “and that completeness goes with Witness”.

Moreover, the Afrikaner historiography revolved around the monumental event of the Great Trek a symbol of Afrikaner unity which was accorded a prominent space in the history curriculum during apartheid (Sieborger, 2018). While the narrative of the Great Trek was embedded with meaning and instilled patriotic spirit for the Afrikaner people, it did not mean much for most Black African people who at the time were denied their history. It is in this context that Z.K. Matthews quoted in Sieborger (2018, p. 3) points out:

Our history as we had absorbed it from the tales and talk of elders bore no resemblance to South African history as it has been written by European scholars, or as it is taught in South African schools, and as it was taught to us at Fort Hare. The European insisted that we accept his version of the past ... we struggled through the white man's version ... but in a distinctly pro-Boer version.

Such kind of school history curriculum not only did not inspire many Black Africans but it ensured that Black Africans ostracised the subject of history as they hardly identify themselves with its content in history books, where they were often misrepresented and depicted as inferior beings in relation to their White counterparts. Majeke (1952) quoted in Sieborger (2018, p. 3) argued, “If rulers can make the people believe that they are inferior, wipe out their past history or present it in such a way that they feel, not pride but shame, then they create the conditions that make it easy to dominate the people”. One can argue therefore that Black African people during apartheid felt excluded from the master narrative of the time which served Afrikaner identity and White interests in a racially divided society.

The intent by the NP led-government to dispense a mediocre education for Blacks could be well expounded by consciously designing a specific education system for Black Africans – Bantu Education. As Johnson pointed out, “We must strive to win the fight against the non-white in the classroom instead of losing it on the battlefield” (1982, p. 214). This move was aimed to coincide with the policy of separate development to sustain social inequality in terms of master and subject relationship between the White minority and Black majority. As Johnson further explained that such a policy “... establishes that access to education is often a status reward that is distributed differentially and that education can be a mechanism of social control” (p.214). Similarly, Weldon (2010) noted that “the curriculum deliberately included notions of white supremacy and black inferiority. Education for all children emphasised rote learning, and discouraged questioning or critical engagement in the lesson” (p. 2). One could argue therefore that the rationale behind this was to ensure that, due to the lack of quality education, Black Africans remained as backward as possible and also that they remained ever available as cheap labour in the various White enterprises e.g. mining and agricultural industries. It is important to note that upon taking power in 1948 the NP ensured that the mission schools that previously provided education were stripped of government subsidies and subsequently the Bantu Education system was introduced. It is in this context that Clark and Worger (2004, p. 51) noted that the “Bantu Education Act removed state subsidies from denominational schools with the result that most of the mission-run African institutions (with the exception of some schools run by the Roman Catholic Church and Seventh Day Adventists) were sold to

the government or closed". Therefore, school and historical culture under apartheid was closely intertwined, as Wassermann (2017) posits that apartheid was omnipresent as a master narrative which impacted on the lives of the people in all aspects. However, such omnipresent quality of apartheid master narrative was to be phased out with the advent of the democratic dispensation in 1994.

2.6 School history in the post-apartheid era

The ANC led-government's commitment to provide quality and equal access to education is enshrined in the constitution of the Republic of South Africa of 1996, Section 29(1) which clearly states that, "Everyone has the right to basic education, including adult education, and to further education, which the State, through reasonable measures, must make progressively available and accessible".

However, this is contrary to the kind of schooling provided to most Black African people under the apartheid regime in that through the Bantu Education Act and subsequent legislation, the state stiffened its control over education and extended segregation in education to tertiary level (Thompson, 2014). Similarly, Mncwabe, (1993, p.55) pointed out that for decades "the blacks have been alienated from education system by historical neglect of their inferior, separate education and government's refusal to establish a single education ministry and policy for education".

This suggests that the post 1994 political developments marked a paradigm shift from a racist and separatist form of education system to an education geared to promote unity and reconciliation in a multiracial, multicultural and multi-ethnic society in South Africa. Therefore, for the government to effectively provide equal access to education for all, it was imperative that the education system was reformed in the first place in order to benefit all its citizens regardless of race, religion and ethnicity including political affiliation. According to Asmal and James, (2001) "the new democratic government must uproot and reform a system that, over decades, skewed education in favour of whites and to the disadvantage of blacks." This means that, whatever change or reform that was to take place regarding education would be underpinned by the following democratic school principles:

relationships and how we treat and value each other; the equal value of all people, irrespective of gender and background; respect and understanding of differences between people; rights and responsibilities in a democratic society (MacBeath, 2004, p.21).

Similarly, in line with this understanding of democratic education (Gutmann, 1987, p.42) pointed out that:

A democratic education offers a principled defence of schooling whose aim is to teach the skills and virtues of democratic deliberation within a social context where educational authority is shared among parents, citizens, and professional educators.

While the new education curriculum was attained following the demise of apartheid in 1994, it is, however, important to mention that the reform in school history curriculum, was characterised by competing ideas or debates between African history teachers and university history academics in terms of whose historiography or history narrative would be taught in schools this time round in a democratic South Africa. According to (Pingel, 2008a, p.186) for the new South African historiography “African teachers placed great hopes on political change and expected a new and uncontested “Black” history that would be the one and only true story in contrast to the distorted one they had been exposed to for so many years”.

It is important to mention that prior to the first democratic election (1994), liberal historians and academics began reflecting and writing about the kind of history education they had envisaged for post- apartheid South Africa. As a matter of fact, these scholars published some material as alternative historiography with the aim to introduce an acceptable national narrative that would accommodate and recognise the once excluded or misrepresented historiography and narratives of the Black majority in school textbooks and the curriculum. Therefore, in the 1980s the scholars’ views “began to be represented in alternative textbooks which were nevertheless published by more progressive educational publishers. The books were not widely used in schools but they provided models for what future textbooks might be like” (Siebörger, 1993). The new government was firmly focused on the process of reconciliation and trying to build a nation that was for decades divided on racial lines and ethnicity. Furthermore, the initial reforms in the education system soon after apartheid led to the introduction of Curriculum 2005 and its impact was immediately felt as it “removed all

reference to history from the curriculum; its rigid model of 'outcomes-based education' was patently inimical to any consideration of the past" (Bundy, 2002, p.76). This was contrary to the expectations of most Black African people in the new democratic dispensation. For instance, "history teachers, history educationalists and historians looked forward with impatient anticipation to the time when the apartheid curriculum would be cast aside and history could claim its place as an important instrument in the construction of a new national identity" (Siebörger, 1993). One could argue that such expectations were not considered immediately because the new government did not want to be seen promoting a kind of *hero vs villain* historiography. Where the hero would be the Black African majority who fought against apartheid and the villain would be the White minority who during apartheid had privileges and were regarded as superior to Black Africans. Factions against school history at the time maintained that "we need to think towards the future and build a new and better society and a History of oppression and subjugation that the majority of the population had to endure will not help" (Wassermann, 2015, p.7). As a result, the first decade of the new dispensation saw school history as well as geography being reduced into the social science learning area. Such a move did not satisfy historians and scholars who saw this as "historical amnesia" and exacerbated criticism against OBE tried to ignore and avoid tackling the past. However, school history reclaimed its prominence and relevance following the revision of the Curriculum 2005 which led to the implementation of CAPS document. The new curriculum was viewed as "a radical departure from the apartheid past of the subject and a genuine pursuit of the creation of a new transformed prototype citizen in tune with the aspirations of the creation of the rainbow nation" (Wassermann, 2015, p.15). Based on these facts (Pingel, 2008b) noted that:

A pluralistic model was favoured by a group of historians who worked at universities long since known for their anti-apartheid position. They advocated the use of new source materials about African history, innovative methodological approaches such as multi-perspective interpretations, group discussion, oral history, and testimonies; however, these methods were almost unknown to normal teachers in a township classroom and could hardly be transformed into a manageable pedagogical format under the prevailing material conditions and with such a lack of trained authors and teachers.

It is important to mention that the ANC-led government informed by the experiences of the past supports an education system designed to benefit all learners within the

country regardless of their race, gender and background. The Department of Education Mission Statement states that: “Our vision is of a South Africa in which all people have equal access to lifelong education and training opportunities which will contribute towards improving the quality of life and build a peaceful, prosperous and democratic society” (DoE 2001). However, “this can only happen if all teachers have a sound understanding of how to recognise and address barriers to learning and how to plan for diversity” (DoE 2011).

The above conflicting expectations about the new national historiography of the country is a clear indication that history plays a fundamental role in society and that all the existing histories (e.g. in case of a divided society) need to have equal consideration and significance rather than to have a history curriculum that would favour a single group or race, (e.g. like what happened under apartheid) a national historiography that would promote unity and reconciliation. This suggests that, the adoption of the new history syllabus needed to be adopted as soon as possible with the view that it would also help instil critical thinking rather than focussing on the Afrikaner historiography. It is this context that (Kallaway, 1995) pointed out to “get away from the racist ideological legacy and emphasise the role of history in creating critical citizens for a democratic context, stress must be placed upon the development of critical skills and conceptual development in the planning of educational system for post-apartheid era”. Similarly, Van den Heever in (Mncwabe1993, p.152), understood post-apartheid education as an education that “prepares people for total human liberation; one which helps people to be creative, to develop a critical mind, one that prepares people for full participation in all social, political or cultural spheres of society”. Such an approach is contrary to that of the previous system that was against inquisitive minds and creativity in school but favoured submissiveness instead. This was the case because the main objective of the then government was to establish a racist form of education which dispensed inferior education “to train Blacks exclusively for employment in menial low-wage positions in a racially structured economy” (Subreenduth, 2009, p. 121). While such a political situation created a conducive environment for White parents to effectively support their children through their involvement in the education of their children, for most Black African parents at the

time the situation worked against them and they hardly knew what was happening to their children at school.

Therefore, one can argue that the post-apartheid school history curriculum embraced both the analytical and critical identities for learners to acquire historical knowledge. The post-apartheid school curriculum marked a radical shift from the apartheid passive pedagogical method of rote learning to a “curriculum based on historical enquiry and skills development such as, judgement, comparison, empathy and synthesis, thereby encouraging civic and critical thinking” (DoE, 2001, p.12). These orientations encourage active participation amongst learners while at the same time teaching them to uphold the democratic values of equity and social justice in South Africa. This means issues of equity and justice as part of democratic values are modelled in the classroom and therefore school history should serve to promote these values for good citizenship. One can argue therefore, the emphasis of the values of equity, justice and reconciliation was an attempt to create in post-apartheid South Africa “a new official master narrative based on nationalism and imagined communities” (Wassermann, 2017, p.7), where the notion of inclusive identity is promoted. Therefore, in order to achieve the notion of inclusivity in a society once divided along racial lines it necessitated the restructuring of the school history curriculum for the learners “to be able to find people and incidents in which they could identify” (Massoa & Twala, 2014, p.2305). Such an approach was aimed at inculcating amongst learners the notion of multiple perspectives of historical reality and knowledge.

2.7 Parents and the education of their children

Studies (Singh, Mbokodi, & and Msila, 2004; Li & Fischer, 2017; Ntekane, 2018) show that parents’ involvement in the education of their children plays a vital role towards success of learners at school. Parents’ responsibilities are not only limited at bringing-up children at home, but they also have an obligation to monitor their children’s progress as far as their education is concerned. In other words, parents’ involvement in the education of their children helps to boost the learners’ morale and academic confidence particularly when they are aware that their parents are interested in their schooling and monitor their work. As a result, under such guidance learners are

encouraged to attend school on a regular basis and therefore adopt a positive attitude and discipline towards their school work as a guarantor of success. Ntekane (2018) defines parental involvement in the education of their children as follows:

Parental involvement refers to a situation where parents are directly involved in the education of their children, they involve themselves and are involved by the school and teachers in the learning process of their children, and they fulfil their duties as parents in making sure that the learner is assisted in the process of learning as much as they possibly can (p. 1).

In support of this are Ceka and Murati (2016) who highlight that as a result of the support they give to their children, parents expect their children to do well and progress from one grade to the next. Therefore, parents can play a significant role in the education of their children in different areas of their children schooling. According to Ntekane (2018) parents can be involved in the education of their children "... through becoming part of school boards, being concerned about their children's academic performance, showing dedication in their children's learning through availing themselves during parents' meetings, in order to gain a better understanding of the performance of their children" (p. 2). Through such an involvement parents not only get interested with schooling of their children but also establish a working relationship with schools of their children. According to Msila (2007) it is often affluent parents who have the habit of providing effective educational support to their children because of their social-economic status. This was the case during the apartheid era where there was education for the rich (White schools) and education for the poor (Black Africans). In such an unequal education system White parents as favoured by the system were more involved in the education of their children.

Contrary to affluent parents, studies show that most parents from disadvantaged backgrounds are hardly involved in the education of their children due to socio-economic factors. For instance, during the apartheid era in South Africa, most Black African parents were uninvolved in the education of their children mainly because of poverty and illiteracy and were unable to purchase the necessary didactic material for their children (Singh, Mbokodi, and Msila, 2004). Msila (2007), adds that the bad academic performance evidenced in public schools, where Black African learners attend, reflects the lack of parents' involvement in the education of their children. One

can argue therefore that, as was the case during the apartheid era, most Black African schools are characterised by "... high absenteeism, and unstable and unfit buildings" (Msila, 2007, p. 306). Therefore, such inequality in education and evident lack of parental involvement in the education of their children continue to promote the notion of Whiteness as intellectual property in that the former White schools and model C schools continue to do well as opposed to most previously disadvantaged schools.

2.8 Parents and school history

According to Raty (2007) parents' own experiences good or bad tend to influence the direction their children take in the future. That is, parents' recollections of the past are triggered by the learning environment and opportunities that their children have. It follows then that due to their recollection of bad experiences of their school days parents begin to evaluate the prospects of success of their children in relation to their own when they were learners. It is this context that Raty (2007) argues that "parents usually make comparisons between particular aspects of their own and their child's school" (p. 387). This suggest that as parents see their children attend school in a conducive learning environment, their memory gets ignited and they begin to evaluate their school days' experience in relation to their children's opportunities or schooling context. It is important to note that, parents' recollection about their school days are means through which they can convey their constructed meanings in relation to schooling and school history experiences in relation to the schooling context of their children. For instance, linking this to the topic of this study, school history became irrelevant in the first years into the democracy in South Africa, since it was not viewed as a catalyst for economic growth and development and therefore it could do little to help redress the imbalances of the past. It is in this context that (Asmal & James, 2001) pointed out that the "South African population is ill-equipped in science, mathematics, and technology, and therefore poorly prepared to meet the challenges of globalization" (p.186). Consequently, most parents began to redirect their children towards Mathematics and sciences subjects since these are linked to better paying jobs in society, thereby relegating school history as an irrelevant subject. Moreover, this made sense to some parents because they had a negative experience of school history during the apartheid era. In other words, parents' bad past experiences may constitute

a motivation for them to direct their children to choosing certain careers over others such as school history for instance.

2.9 Conclusion

In this chapter I discussed the relevant literature for the study. The literature highlighted the role of conducting and presenting literature review in research. Also, discussions in this chapter were guided by selected themes or sub-headings which ensured that the chapter was well organised and that discussions remained relevant to the topic of the study. The themes discussed in the chapter included: How to conduct and present a literature review; the nature of school history; race and history; values and uses of school history; school history under apartheid; school history in the post-apartheid era; parents and the education of their children; parents and school history. Therefore, the historical dynamics of both apartheid and post-apartheid as highlighted in this chapter, are closely intertwined with Black African parents' experiences, the participants of this study, of school history during apartheid as learners and now as parents, moreover their lived experiences influence their children whether they do school history or not. This chapter also highlighted that the education system under apartheid was racialised whereby schools earmarked for White minority had all the privileges and resources at their disposal. On the contrary schools for the majority of Black Africans were under-resourced coupled with minimal financial support as a way of limiting opportunities for Black African learners.

It is important to note that, the nature of school history was subdivided into three different themes: memory history identities (academic and civic); analytical history identities (academic and civic) and critical history identities (academic and civic). The theme of memory history identities as part of its strength showed that sanctioned collective historiography by the authorities or ruling class play a vital role in establishing an idea of national identity based on unchallenged and fixed historiography. The weakness of such an approach is based on the fact that learners are not engaged in critical thinking activities thus promoting at the same time passive learners who hardly know about the existence of different perspectives of historical interpretation. It is in this context that Barton and Levstik (2003, p. 360) postulate that

historical facts “cannot simply be buttressed by authority they must be grounded in evidence that has been held up to public inspection”.

Meanwhile, the theme of analytical history identities showed that historical interpretation of facts is essential in creating critical thinking abilities and skills amongst learners. Learners have the platform to ask critical questions and they make use of various perspectives in studying history at school. However, critiques of this theme show that some educators do not teach their learners the necessary skills to enable them to interpret and understand historical facts. In other words, some educators “do not focus on the key characteristics of history as advocated by reformers – investigation, interpretation, and perspective” (Barton & Levstik, 2003, p. 358).

The theme of critical history identities showed that it plays a critical role in preparing learners or young people to be critical minded and responsible citizens in a participatory democracy. However, as a weakness, the lack of such skills and knowledge of current affairs render the learner ineffective citizen in a pluralist democratic society. For instance, if a learner is asked “...to remember a body of information, which they think is true because someone in a position of authority said it was, then they don’t actually have any knowledge at all they just have a memory of baseless facts” (Barton & Levstik, 2003, p.360). As a result the learners will not be in a position to make informed and responsible decisions in society they live. The next chapter discusses the theoretical framework of the study.

CHAPTER 3

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND CRITICAL RACE THEORY

Critical Race Theory embraces a movement of left scholars, most of them scholars of color, situated in law schools, whose work challenges the way in which race and racial power are constructed and represented in American legal culture and, ... society as a whole (Crenshaw, 1995, p.xiii).

3.1 Introduction

As mentioned in Chapter 1, against the background and context, racism and all forms of racial oppression have had a very deep impact, particularly on Black Africans' education and ways of thinking. Therefore, this chapter's epigraph serves as prelude to the wide-ranging issues related to race and racism which will be discussed in this chapter.

In this chapter I will focus on reviewing the relevant theoretical literature on which this study is based. The theoretical framework for this study is Critical Race Theory (CRT). CRT will provide an appropriate theoretical lens to investigate the relationship between parents, and school history during and after apartheid and how this leads parents to produce certain narratives regarding post-apartheid school history in South Africa. The study will draw from some key tenets of CRT i.e. racism as social reality, Whiteness as property, counter storytelling, interdisciplinarity, and critique of liberalism. Therefore, the CRT key tenets will enable me to interpret the effects of race and racism on Black African parents' personal narratives within social and historical contexts in which their lived experiences evolved. This chapter begins with a conceptual explanation of the notions of theory and theoretical framework, followed by an explanation of CRT that underpins the study. I then move on to explain the origins of CRT, and then discuss CRT and education. In order to contextualise the application of CRT, in this chapter I also discuss, the idea of race and racism in society; Whiteness and White supremacy; Blackness and Black inferiority. Also towards the end of Chapter, I discuss the idea of success against all odds, and I close with a conclusion

that sums up the entire chapter with focus on the impact of race and racism on education.

3.2 Understanding theory

A theory plays a vital role in understanding the complexity of the world as well as the development of society. In order for us to gain some understanding about how things or the world operate we rely on theories. That is, theories provide us with different world -views about certain phenomenon as well as societal issues or experiences which were observed or being investigated. For instance, without theory it would be impossible to even imagine how the world functions and many other things related to it. It is in this context that Popper (2005) argued that “theories are nets cast to catch what we call ‘the world’: to rationalize, to explain, and to master it” (p.59). Also, it is through theory that we are able to understand the class struggle between the rich and the poor, as well as the notions of White supremacy and Black inferiority. This suggests that a theory is closely linked with empirical observations and it needs to be tested so that it remains reliable. Furthermore, it is through theories that we are able to logically and coherently explain different stages of human development (Piaget, 1994). Therefore, the existence of various theories helps not only in increasing knowledge about a phenomenon under study, but also theories provide us with different views and opinions about the world.

Therefore, theories form an integral part of any research study because all research is underpinned by a given theoretical perspective (Du Plooy-Cilliers et al., (2014). This implies that if a research study is to be recognised as a scholarly work it would need to be supported by existing theories which the researcher has the liberty to choose in order to best explain a phenomena under investigation and also helps to answer the research questions. Silvermann (2000) states that research questions are informed by the adopted theoretical framework. Therefore it is imperative for the researcher to take time to select the theoretical framework which will be in line with the kind of study or phenomenon being investigated.

According to Chibucos (2004) a theory provides a framework for analysis, a method for field development and moreover an explanation about the phenomena under study. This suggests that, a theory is used in research as a lens through which we gain deeper understanding of the world around us through description and explanation of a phenomenon under study including human experiences (Du Plooy-Cilliers et al., 2014). Kalinger and Lee define theory as:

A set of interrelated constructs (concepts), definitions, and propositions that present a systematic view of phenomenon by specifying relations among variables, with the purpose of explaining and predicting phenomena (quoted in Gray, 2009, p. 5).

The above definition entails that any research study will need to be assessed based on a theoretical lens or perspective it adopted which in turn is hoped to contribute to the academic field or discipline (Silvermann, 2000). In other words, the purpose of a research study is mainly aimed at increasing the epistemological understanding of a given field of interest or discipline. That is why there are many types of theories, all of which attempt to provide a more understanding explanation of the world based on one's own perspectives thereby making theories abstract constructions of concepts.

3.3 Theories and research

It is important to note that theories are not static perspectives but are subject to change as they are constantly being renewed through research work. This means, when a new theory with more insight and explanation about a particular phenomenon emerges it automatically replaces the old one(s) and thereby becomes a dominant theory. Based on this line of thought, it is important to note that researchers always ply their art within the worlds of abstraction which deals with concepts or ideas and the world of concrete – which entails the empirical (Chibucos, 2004). That is, through concepts and ideas coupled with the empirical observations people and researchers are able to create and construct their own pictures and understanding of the world in which they live.

Du Plooy-Cilliers et al. (2014) argue that theory is a conceptual construct because it is through it that researchers attempt to explain a given phenomenon from a particular angle or worldview. Furthermore, since theories are not discovered but constructed by

people, they are therefore susceptible to change through continuous research thereby leading to new and more understandable forms of description and explanation of a phenomenon.

Therefore, it is within these two domains that researchers theorise about issues or a phenomenon under study. According to Chibucos (2004) theorising comprises a systematic organisation of ideas which are used to explain a particular phenomenon as well as suggesting further research that will increase additional epistemological understanding. Linking this to the topic of this study, as a researcher, I hope to theorise how the narratives of Black African parents explain why their children do or do not do school history. The theorising process will also look at how the apartheid and post-apartheid contexts impact on Black African parents on the selection for their children.

According to Robson (2011), theories play a significant role in research as they guide the researcher in the right direction, while at the same time allowing the researcher to take cognisance of the existing literature in the field of interest thus helping the research to make a meaningful or quality scholarly contribution. This suggests that no research study falls in a vacuum. But every study is informed by previous research work which the researcher through the study attempts to build-up on the existing work thus increasing the epistemological knowledge in the discipline of interest.

According to Zelly quoted in Du Plooy et al., (2014) there are different types of theories for instance common sense, working, and scholarly theories. However, these theories reflect the existence of various worldviews when dealing with a given reality or phenomenon. But for the purpose of this study I focus on scholarly theories which are systems developed in academic disciplines (Robson, 2011). It is important to note that, researchers select or choose theories to underpin their studies in order to answer the research questions.

Therefore, theories play a significant role in research because not only do they serve as guides but also assure the researchers that their work is being undertaken within an established and acceptable theoretical framework, thereby leading researchers to make “some contribution to the development of theory itself” (Robson, 2011, p. 65). So, what is a Theoretical Framework?

3.4 What is a theoretical framework?

Theoretical framework could be understood as a collection of ideas and theories which are closely intertwined with the phenomenon being investigated (Du Plooy-Cilliers et al., 2014, p. 55). Similarly theoretical or conceptual framework is defined as “the system of concepts, assumptions expectations, beliefs and theories that supports and informs your research” (Robson, 2011, p. 67). In other words, the selection of a theoretical framework is the point of departure in the right direction because the researcher gets to deal with or discuss the main concepts related to the study by following the necessary principles as envisaged by the chosen theoretical framework.

According to (Du Plooy-cilliers et al., 2014) researchers use a theoretical framework for the following reason: “to delineate or outline the theoretical scope of our study; it provides the guiding principles and specific perspective through which we examine a topic; it points to concepts on which we need to focus, it guides how we collect, analyse and interpret the data of the study; it provides a way by which to identify important new issues and concepts to include in the study and it points to the most critical research questions that need to be answered in order to improve an understanding of a particular phenomenon” (p. 55).

Therefore, based on the above functions of a theoretical framework led me to adopt Critical Race Theory (CRT) as the theoretical framework that underpins my study. As indicated in Chapter 1, CRT will help shed light and provide deeper understanding in relation to the dynamics and historical contexts of Black African parents’ narratives and their schooling and school history experiences during apartheid and post-apartheid South Africa. Therefore, CRT is an established theoretical framework which will help me understand race related issues such as prejudice, social injustice and discrimination in all aspects of life including education within the contexts in which the experiences of the Black African parents evolved.

3.6 Origins of Critical Race Theory

Critical Race Theory is a break-away faction from the Critical Legal Studies (CLS) movement in the United States of America (USA) (Delgado & Stefancic, 2011; Parker,

2003; & Ladson-Billings, 2010). Its precursors (Derrick Bell, Alan Freeman, and Richard Delgado to name a few) argue that CRT was established as a result of CLS's lack of effective commitment to "engage as critical analysis in society" (Darder, 2011, p.110). CLS's failure to address critical issues such as race in the USA society, led to some legal scholars of colour to view it as an instrument of oppression and promoter of government agendas (Darder, 2011). They argued that, the failure of CLS undermined the African Americans who always had been victims of racism and discrimination. In other words, the CRT founding scholars or members were inspired by their shared history as people classified as 'other'. According to (Taylor, Gillborn, & Ladson-Billings, 2009) African Americans linked to CLS were not only marginalised, but also were frustrated and dissatisfied by the manner in which people of colour were dealt with which led to the origins of CRT. They were frustrated because they were treated unfairly and looked down upon only because they were seen as the 'other'. Furthermore, apart from the unfair treatment of the African Americans in the USA another issue of concern was that of inequality between the White and African Americans. While the Civil Rights Act of 1964 officially ended racial segregation in the USA it, however, indirectly, promoted the notion of colour-blindness in that though Black Americans could not attend White institutions they were still victims of institutionalised racism. That is:

The mere presence of African Americans in all-white institutions meant nothing as long as whites retained full power and control over decision-making processes. African Americans thus remained supplicants to white benevolence, and whites made changes only to the point at which their personal interests were not compromised (Jones, 2000, p.3).

This suggests that the African Americans in the USA were still viewed as inferior and that their struggle for equality was being rather difficult to attain specifically since they were treated with lower standards of decency (Ladson-Billings, 1998). Such behaviour, however, led to the emergence of CRT.

CRT first emerged in the USA during the 1970s when "various legal scholars felt limited by work that separated critical theory from conversations about race and racism" (Yosso, Parker, Solorzano, & Lynn, 2004, p.2). Since its inception, as a theoretical lens, CRT has been interested in examining issues of racism, racial

subordination, and discrimination (Taylor, Gillborn, & Ladson-Billings, 2009), which particularly affect Black Americans in the USA. Therefore, critical race theorists have foregrounded race in their analysis and they assert that racism is intertwined with experiences of individuals (Hilton, Gasman, & Wood, 2013). For instance, Black Americans have had terrible experiences of oppression and racial subjugation, and such experiences are of great interest for critical race theorists.

In other words, CRT “grew as a radical alternative to dominant perspectives of critical legal studies” (Gillborn, 2006, p.9). This implies that, the legal scholars were greatly concerned that the invaluable gains (for example, legal rights for African Americans: Civil Rights Act of 1964 that ended discrimination based on racial lines as well as ended discrimination on public amenities; and the Voting Rights Act of 1965) attained by the Civil Rights Movement during the 1960s “were being rolled back” (Delgado & Stefancic, 2011, p. 4). It is in this context that Crenshaw noted that critical race theorists sought “both a critical space in which race was foregrounded and race space where critical themes were central” (Yosso et al., 2004, p.2). Emerging from the CLS movement, CRT was soon extended into the field of education where it is employed to investigate various aspects related to race in education such as underperformance of students of colour and racial divisions in schools (Savas, 2014) that continue to undermine the efforts and abilities of Black Americans in particular.

3.5 What is Critical Race Theory (CRT)?

CRT is a race-centred approach that seeks primarily to provide “a lens through which to question, critique, and challenge the manner and methods in which race, white supremacy, supposed meritocracy, and racist ideologies have shaped and undermined policy efforts” (Harper, Patton, & Wooden, 2009, p.309). This suggests that CRT is not only committed to dealing with issues of race and racism but it also remains committed to transforming society into a better place by promoting social justice in a society characterised by racial inequality (i.e. between Whites and Blacks) as far as resources accumulation are concerned.

So, CRT has been defined as:

the work of progressive legal scholars of color who are attempting to develop a jurisprudence that accounts for the role of racism in American law and that work toward the elimination of racism as part of larger goal of eliminating all forms of subordination (Matsuda, 1991, p. 1331).

The above citation, suggests that critical race scholars were determined to fight on until their demands for equality before the law and equal access to opportunities in life were met. In other words critical race theorists are not only interested in confronting racial issues that affect mostly the African Americans in the USA, but also they are interested in “transforming the relationship among race, racism, and power” (Delgado & Stefancic, 2011, p.2). In other words, the broader vision of CRT is to eliminate social injustice and discrimination and thus help eradicate the very aspects that sustain White supremacy.

The CRT framework is an interdisciplinary one which is used to address race related matters and challenges liberalism by critiquing concepts of neutrality, colour-blindness and meritocracy (Ladson-Billings, 1998; Solorzano, 1998). Thus CRT provides an alternative voice to that of the dominant perspective (Parker, 2003; Yosso, Parker, Solorzano, & Lynn, 2004). In other words, critical race theorists make use of individuals “experiential knowledge, drawn from shared history as ‘other’ with their ongoing struggles to transform a world deteriorating under the albatross of racial hegemony” (Barnes, 1990, p.1864). It is important to note that leading figures in the legal academy, such as Derrick Bell, played a vital role in the emergence of CRT and its success story in the USA. Bell as an African American himself, helped attract a number of African American people into the School of Law at Harvard University (Jones, 2000). Bell, as a founding member of CRT, became not only a figure of reference but also a mentor for many scholars of colour. Since Bell’s critiques first took root within the legal academy, it follows then that his supporters also began to critique the status quo of some leading mainstream institutions as instruments that promoted the agendas to the detriment of the minority groups such as African American people. That is, Bell’s “students critiqued Harvard’s traditional role in society as an elite mainstream institution, responsible for supplying the lawyers who populated the ranks as high court judges, practitioners and legal educators. They blamed Harvard for failing to contribute to a true liberal agenda that would empower communities of color” (Jones, 2000, p.3). This suggests that the struggle for equality and the end of racial

segregation in working places and schools was far from over. These critiques led to the emergence of CRT where critical race theorists adopted a method of storytelling in order to investigate the lived experiences of African Americans and other minority groups in the USA.

It is important to note that, CRT many tenets which are used to explain and investigate race related matters in society. For the purpose of this study I will discuss these basic tenets of CRT that underpin this study: race as social construct, Whiteness as property, storytelling, CRT as transdisciplinary and critique to liberalism.

3.5.1 CRT as Social Construct

The first tenet of CRT is that of race as a social construct (Crenshaw, 1995; Delgado & Stefancic, 2011; Tillery, 2009; Parker, 2003). Therefore in view of this tenet racism is a social reality which is intrinsically entrenched in people's daily routines, thus making it rather difficult to effectively address or eliminate (Delgado & Stefancic, 2011; Haper, Patton, & Wooden, 2009; Savas, 2013). Critical race theorists not only acknowledge the existence of race but also emphasise the normality of racism (Darder, 2011). Expressed differently, racism is an ordinary and socially constructed function within social structures and institutions (Bonilla-Silva, 2009). This implies that, racism is beyond an individual's actions in that it involves the entire society as supported by various working societal structures. Critical race theories assert that the idea of race was socially constructed with the aim of promoting power, authority and economic exploitation over the weak and conquered nations or groups for example, Black Africans. Scholars within the CRT theoretical framework stress that since race is a social construct, it is first and foremost imperative to seek to understand both historical and social contexts in which certain racist assumptions about people, for example, Black Africans are based (Chapman, 2013). It is important to note that the main objective of racist assumptions often impressed on Black Africans, for example, is to enforce discrimination, prejudice, as well as promoting social and economic inequality between Whites and Blacks.

Moreover, racism is one of the most controversial topics in society, and human beings often tend to mention the concepts of race and racism in their discourses. The

tendency is always to categorise people according to race and this practice is connected to the socialisation processes and historical contexts of individuals in society. According to Savas, (2014) people's relations are affected explicitly and implicitly by racialised structures. For instance, the moment one says "a White man or a Black man" we begin to see the individual based on this socialised category of race and class subordination. As a matter of fact, such "racialised social structure still seems to favour Whites, as it was in the past, and the people of colour in comparison with the Whites do not have equal access to better education, jobs or health services" (Savas, 2014, p.506). Similarly, "the process of racialisation is at work in all relations in a capitalist society ... this being one of the primary categories by which human beings are sorted, controlled, and made disposable at the point of production" (Darder, 2011, p.112). This means, the process of racial categorisation was closely intertwined with the development of the processes of slavery and colonialism. Based on these historical facts, Whites categorised themselves as superior, and rational as opposed to Black people whom they classified as inferior and irrational. This was to ensure that those labelled as inferior were denied privileges and rights and thus a relationship of inequality and exploitation was sustained. Linking this to the study, Black African parents during apartheid, as learners back then, could not realise their dreams because their education system was of inferior quality only because they were categorised as Black. Therefore, the systematic racial segregation and discriminatory laws of apartheid were used to promote superior White culture and superior worldview in a country overwhelmingly populated by Black African people. As a consequence, this led to resistance of Black Africans as they demanded quality education and equal opportunities in life.

3.5.2 Whiteness as property

The second tenet is that of Whiteness as property (dominant ideology). CRT scholars assert that institutions such as schools often serve the privileged elite or dominant class. Consequently, CRT scholars argue that "traditional claims of objectivity and neutrality camouflage the self-interest, power, and privilege of dominant groups in society" (Yosso et al., 2004, p.4). The fact that most of the proponents of CRT within the legal fraternity in the USA happen to be those categorised as Black people, is an

indication that they could no longer ignore the racial injustice and discrimination they and the indigenous Americans experienced. CRT scholars further assert that the legal system played a vital role in legalising Whiteness as property at the expense of African Americans, whose fate of inferiority is tied up with an historical past of slavery (Tillery, 2009). Consequently, as a means to challenge the dominant perspective, CRT scholars (Bell, 1980; Delgado, 2011; Crenshaw, 1998) began to focus on racially related issues such as injustice, prejudice, and discrimination as their main priority. This suggests that, critical race theorists are also committed to social justice and eradication of racism in society. According to Solorzano, (1998, p.122) “...in the critical race theorist’s struggle for social justice in education, abolition of racism or racial subordination is part of the broader goal of ending other forms of subordination such as gender, class, and sexual orientation”. This suggests that CRT scholars seek to eradicate the stigma of racial discrimination by challenging the status quo, thus creating necessary conditions to empower previously disadvantaged groups in society (Savas, 2013, p.511). Linking this to the topic of this study, during the apartheid years and as part of the NP government’s policy Black African parents were denied access to quality education coupled with other opportunities linked to education such as better paying jobs and social status on account of their skin colour. In other words, education was a privilege for the Whites hence the idea of ‘Whiteness as property’.

3.5.3 CRT and Storytelling

The third tenet is that of storytelling. One of the ways of analysing and investigating race based issues and lived experiences of people is through storytelling. Through telling stories people are able to express their first-hand experiences they can engage in, IN counter-telling and challenging the supposed master narratives. This means, “CRT recognises and values the voices of people of colour as legitimate, appropriate and critical to better understand, analyse, and teach about racial subordination. Using storytelling...and narratives, CRT scholars draw explicitly on the experiences of people of colour” (Savas, 2013, p.511). CRT scholars argue that master narratives not only ignore the history of Black Africans but also deliberately chooses to disregard their lived experiences (Solorzano & Yosso, 2002). Therefore, CRT often adopts narratives and storytelling “to analyse the myths, presuppositions, and received

wisdoms that make up the common culture about race and that invariably render blacks one-down” (Darder, 2011, p. 113). As a matter of fact, Black Africans had been oppressed for years and that their histories and life experiences were disregarded by the dominant classes.

3.5.4 CRT as Transdisciplinary

The fourth tenet of CRT is that of a transdisciplinary perspective. CRT scholars tend to approach issues of race based on historical context rather than dwelling on contemporary issues alone (Savas, 2013). In other words, critical race theorists rely on a multidisciplinary approach such as sociology, history, archaeology, and political science in order to acquire a comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon being investigated. This means that by engaging with Black African parents by means of storytelling and listening to their experiences as learners then and parents now it is essential in order to make sense of their narratives.

3.5.5 CRT as critique to liberalism

The fifth and final tenet is critique of liberalism. While efforts have been made using concepts such as colour-blindness and meritocracy to deal with the most obvious or overt cases of racism, subtle forms of racism still remain as the main challenge in society. First and foremost, the notion of liberalism “seeks to protect the individual from arbitrary external restraints that prevent the full realisation of his potentialities” Encyclopaedia Britannica (1974, p. 864). In other words liberals advocate themselves to the notion of equality, justice without reservation or limitations. The concept of colour-blind first emerged within the field of law in the USA (Neville, Lilly, Lee, Duran, & Browne, 2000). The concept was aimed at promoting a desired racial attitude in which people were encouraged to ignore race in their day to day rapport. For example, the colour-blind concept was frequently used in the constitution of the USA as a means to inculcate amongst the citizens the “belief that race should not and does not matter” (Neville, et al., 2000, p. 60).

While in the first instance it is a positive attitude to ignore all forms of racial prejudice, however, the continued racism in society “makes it impossible to ignore the importance of race in people’s experiences, thus, race does matter”, (Neville et al., 2000, p. 60). This means that it is difficult for people to be colour blind because race and racial attitudes are entrenched or embedded in people’s lives. On the other hand, the concept of meritocracy is closely intertwined with the notion of Whiteness as property which puts emphasis on distribution of privileges and benefits to the ruling elite (Delgado & Stefancic, 2011). Since all the privileges such as social, economic and education are at the disposal of the dominant race (Whites) it makes the inferior groups such as Black people believe that the dominant race deserves its supremacist position and that Blacks are meant to be subordinate to the ruling elite.

Critical race theorists are vehemently opposed to these concepts as advocated by liberal scholars (Delgado & Stefancic, 2011). For instance, they view the concept of colour-blindness as a way to camouflage racial identities by consciously choosing not to see race in individuals. Such an approach not only helps to maintain White supremacy but it also chooses to ignore the “social, economic and cultural factors that shape people’s past and present experiences” (Chapman, 2013, p.614). Critical race theorists reject these concepts in that people of colour such as Black Africans find themselves in a disadvantaged position thus making racism difficult to eliminate. In post-1994 South Africa the concept “Rainbow Nation” emerged as an attempt to deal and address the racial divisions of the past thus promoting unity and togetherness that goes beyond one’s skin colour (Buqa, 2015). This suggests that the concept “Rainbow Nation, emphasised on the principle of national unity in a society that had been for decades divided on racial lines. Like colour blindness, the idea of “Rainbow Nation” was aimed at encouraging people not to see colour in terms of racial differences and instead to embrace unity and sameness of belonging to one nation. As an interdisciplinary theoretical framework, CRT is also used in the field of education to investigate among other things issues of racial prejudice and discrimination in the education system.

3.6 Critical Race Theory and Education

Education plays a crucial role as an agent of social change and development in society (Robinson, 2012). However, this is not always the case when dominant classes in society have used an education system as means to sustain racial segregation while at the same time promoting White supremacist interest (Lu & Treiman, 2011). This means in such an uneven situation that educational resources are also disproportionately distributed with White schools getting a bigger share. It is such inequalities based on race that form the epicentre of Critical Race Theory in education.

According to Yosso (2005) CRT in education is defined as “a theoretical and analytical framework that challenges the way race and racism impact educational structures, practices, and discourses”. (p.74). This suggests that, CRT is viewed as social justice instrument that works towards liberating and transforming the manner in which educational institutions are conducted.

Therefore, CRT views school curricula as an extended arm of the ruling class in that the school curriculum is used to support the master narratives to the detriment of the accounts of people of colour (Ladson-Billings, 1998). Voices or accounts of people categorised as ‘other’ inferior are either misrepresented or excluded from the mainstream school curriculum in order to perpetuate the dominant perspectives in school. It is in this context that Swartz, (1992) points out that “master scripts silence multiple voices and perspectives, legitimizing dominant, white upper-class as the standard knowledge students need to know” (p.341). Therefore, CRT asserts that education becomes a property right of the elite as opposed to being a human right in that it serves to preserve White privileges and supremacy. Similarly, Chapman (2013) views school curricula as intellectual property which has a specific function in education, namely to cement the hierarchical position of Whites and their privileges in society rather than being an instrument that fosters social change and empowering the minds of people regardless of race (Chapman, 2013). For instance, under apartheid South Africa the education system was used as ‘intellectual property’ that favoured and advanced the interests of the White minority in the country therefore excluding the vast majority from benefiting. As a result, many Black Africans in South Africa continue to experience the effects or legacy of the separatist form of education.

Furthermore, CRT proclaims that colour blindness is manifested in the field of education in that it tends to conceal racial diversity in American society by employing pluralistic terminology such as “we” (Ladson-Billings, 1998). This, however, creates an impression of the existence of a harmonious relationship between races for example Whites and Black Africans. For instance, in South Africa much has been done to improve access to education for all after the end of apartheid, it is necessary, however, to highlight that education still favours the White minority who have resources at their disposal, and such disparity impacts on the quality of education of Black Africans (Lu & Treiman, 2011). This means that the existing inequalities between Whites and Blacks in South Africa, need to be understood within historical and local contexts. Therefore, one cannot talk about CRT without first engaging with race related issues which form the basis of CRT. Such issues include slavery, colonialism, Whiteness as property, and Social Darwinism. In other words, if one wants to understand the Black African experiences one do without talking about the above-mentioned race related issues.

3.7 Slavery contribution to race and racism in society

It is important to note that slavery and European imperialism form the basis of the ideas of race and racism in society. Since their inception these ideas have negatively affected the experiences of people of colour. Therefore, CRT is a response to these issues which culminated in racism. Moreover, if it were not for slavery CRT would not exist in the manner in which racism is understood today.

According to Hirschman, (2004) and Curtoni and Politis, (2006) the ideas of race and racism are fairly new concepts which have emerged alongside modernity in the last four hundred years. In other words, these concepts are closely linked with the development of three major historical events or developments in the world, and that such developments gave rise to different “perceptions of racial identities and racial boundaries”. These historical events or developments include: “the enslavement of millions of Africans in plantations in the New World; the spread of European colonial rule in the world; and the development of Social Darwinism theories, particularly

pseudo-scientific theory of European supremacy that became dominant in the nineteenth century” (Hirschman, 2004, p.386).

First and foremost, the meaning of the terms race and racism, as we know them today, did not exist prior to these historical events and the European historical expansion (Rabaka, 2007). The Trans-Atlantic Slave trade, which was part and parcel of the emergence of capitalism, played a significant role in the establishment of racialised institutions in society. For instance, as part of the slave trade millions of Africans were forcefully taken away from their homes to work as slaves in “sugar, tobacco, and cotton plantations in the New World” (Hirschman, 2004, p.394). The impact of the slave trade and colonialism was devastating for Black people in general in that colonial powers involved in the slave trade saw Africa as their source of cheap labour. As a result, the slave trade not only created a slave and master kind of relationship but it also helped establish the racial hierarchy between Whites and people of colour. According to Hirschman (2004), the colonists’ plantation owners, through their foremen harshly punished slaves and denied them basic human rights. Moreover, slaves could be bought and sold at the will of their masters. However, this process “led to gradual reliance on black labour that shifted from indentured servitude to full-scale system of intergenerational enslavement” (Ross, 2010, p.210). Since then a relationship of domination and subjugation of Africans was established and justified as a right thing to do throughout slavery and European colonialism across the world. For instance, in the USA the legal system and the courts saw slaves as mere property and that they did not deserve the rights fit for a citizen (Hirschman, 2004). Such an endorsement not only established exploitative racial relations but, even after the abolition of the slave trade and decolonisation process people still view each other in terms of race thus making race and racism part and parcel of our existence. Therefore, racism could be understood as “a structure or belief that the other community is inherently inferior and lacks the capacity to create a society comparable to one’s own” (Hirschman, 2004, p.386). This was the fate that many people of colour had to face during slavery times as slavery and colonialism are closely intertwined.

3.8 Colonialism: race and racism

The concept of colonialism is closely associated with the notion of racism (Go, 2004). At the height of colonial imperialism, the White settlers had all the socio-economic and political privileges at the expense of the disadvantaged natives for example in the African continent and elsewhere. The colonisers were able to maintain and sustain their position of power because they successfully managed to control the natives who were categorised as an inferior group of people. According to Singh (2007), colonialism became synonymous with “commodity production” (p. 342). It is important to note that, such commodity production took place in the name of spreading civilisation to the natives, which was nevertheless accompanied by harsh treatment, oppression and racial discrimination and racism, which are the focus of CRT. In other words, the term colonialism is, associated with the history of aggression and exploitation of the weak nations such as in Africa by European colonial nations. According to Ross, (2010):

Colonialism refers to the extension of a nation’s authority over people and territories lying beyond that nation’s borders through the establishment of exploitation colonies, where small, but powerful groups of colonisers exploit natural resources from the colonized country in order to strengthen the colonizing nation, and through settlements, where invading nations exterminate or marginalize indigenous populations in attempts to gain population majority (p.210).

Similarly, (Horvath, 1972, p.46) defines colonialism as a “system of a domination and power over a group of people or territory characterised by exploitation and oppression”. It is through such relations of supremacy over the weak nations or territories that the term racism as a social construct emerged. In other words, it closely associated with the very system of domination which is based on “relations of power and prejudice, and intimately connected to colonialism and imperialism” (Curtoni & Politis, 2006, p.95). It was a characteristic of European imperialism to categorise the indigenous people of the conquered territories as inferior, thus the concepts of race and racism, as used in our modern days, have been used since their emergence, not only to promote racial divisions and social inequality, but have also been used to cement and sustain the ideology of White supremacy in society. In this regard research shows that:

The European colonists created sharp divisions of prestige, power, and economic status between the rulers and the ruled. Because these divisions coincided with differences in colour and other physical attributes between whites and the people of Asia and Africa, racism provided a powerful legitimization of imperialism (Hirschman, 2004, p.395).

For instance, in South Africa, White supremacy was part of apartheid ideology that consciously structured society on racial lines where the majority of Black African people endured exploitation and discrimination in all aspects of life through apartheid policies. Furthermore, Black African people were further condemned to an inferior or sub-standard form of education which automatically classified them as a people of less intellect. The racial categorisation methodically aimed to further exclude the majority of Black African people from all privileges and opportunities enjoyed by the White minority. For instance, the Whites had a better education system coupled with both economic and political power. On the contrary, the Black African majority had little as they were made to believe and accept that they were inferior and sub-human. Because racism remained deeply ingrained as reflected in the apartheid system South Africa even today remains divided between two distinct groups: the rich White minority and poor Black majority. Therefore, the deliberate racial exclusion of Blacks was also to negate any possible form of equality with Whites. In other words, the “systematic mistreatment of blacks in South Africa is the outcome of institutionalised inequalities in the social structure” (Curtoni & Politis, 2006, p.95). This suggests that the Black African majority in South Africa under apartheid was disadvantaged thus making a people without political, economic and social power. It is in this context that (Biko & Stubbs, 2002, p.66) pointed out that the “...whites were not only exploitative but also ensured that the interests of both whites and blacks became mutually exclusive” in that blacks were condemned to the periphery of both social and economic structures. Furthermore, since race is a social construct it affects the lives of people in different ways. Those classified as belonging to the dominant class (Whites) have all the privileges in their favour. However, “white privilege refers to the myriad of social advantages, benefits, and courtesies that come with being a member of dominant race” (Delgado & Stefancic, 2011, p.78), to the detriment of Blacks. In South Africa during apartheid the education system for the Black Africans was of inferior quality and highly under resourced. This was aimed at sustaining the racial inequality as far

as skills and competence was concerned. One can argue therefore that racist policies of apartheid were influenced by social Darwinism theories.

3.9 Social Darwinism theories and racism

Social Darwinist theories are relevant to this study in that they are centred on the issue of race. Social Darwinists theories were used to support discrimination and racism in society by stressing the idea of White superiority over people of colour (for example African Americans and Native Americans). As a consequence, the racism that developed had a ready basis and legal support in the societal division along racial lines – Blacks as slaves and Whites as slave owners. It also explains why racism is so difficult to eradicate in that to accept equality among all human beings would be very difficult for people who believed in their superiority over those that they deemed inferior.

To talk about race and racism is not only complex but also, it presupposes that certain issues such as roots of racism and the development of racism need to be clarified. In this study, I consider Social Darwinist theories relevant in that they provide a platform to inform as to how the modern day scientists had used science wrongly to justify racial supremacist ideologies and racism around the world. For instance, Social Darwinist theories as applied in American society, “African Americans were believed to belong to a race that was culturally hundreds of years behind the white race ... and they were taught that their position was not a result of oppression but the natural process of evolution” (Walker & Archung, 2003, p.24). In other words, the battle of racial supremacy as characterised by European imperialism and the quest for total control over inferior races and nations around the world found new motivation of Social Darwinist theory. According to Hofstadter (1992):

Although Darwinism was not the primary source of the belligerent ideology and dogmatic racism of the late nineteenth century, it did become a new instrument in the hands of the theorist of race and struggle... The Darwinist mood sustained the belief in Anglo-Saxon racial superiority which obsessed many American thinkers in the latter half of the nineteenth century, quoted in (Dennis, 1995, p. 245).

Consequently, Social Darwinist theory was not only employed by the American elites as methods for social control and subjugation of people of colour but was also used to advance European imperialism over conquered territories around the world (Black, 2003). So, one could argue that such theories are part of the roots of racism and its development in society.

Therefore, the emergence of Social Darwinism theory, also known as pseudo-scientific racism, for the first time in the history of mankind provided a platform to scientifically justify racism in society. These theories promoted the idea that White was superior over Black, which notion led to racial prejudice, exploitation and the denial of basic human rights over people considered inferior (Dennis, 1995). In other words, Social Darwinists asserted that Europeans were at the top of evolution judging from technological advancement coupled with military, economic and political dominance (Hirschman, 2004; Mhlauli, Salani, & Mokotedi, 2015). Therefore, as a way to maximise colonial control over other racial groups the Americans and Europeans began to classify people in terms of skin colour and physical characteristics. Furthermore, the racial categorisation process provided justification for ill-treatment and exploitation of those classified as inferior i.e. Blacks thus cementing the ideology of White supremacy. One could argue that the NP in South Africa was inspired by theories of Social Darwinism. This means with the emergence of Afrikaner nationalism, which included the development of both cultural identity and the Afrikaans language and religion coupled with the absolute control of economic and political power, helped to set the whites apart from other racial groups where the majority of Black Africans became the least in relation to other racial groups. This was to ensure that Whiteness and White supremacy were well promoted and sustained from the cheap labour of Black Africans. For instance, in apartheid South Africa education policies for Black Africans favoured an inferior curriculum that focussed on non-academic training (Walker & Archung, 2003).

3.10 Whiteness and White supremacy

Whiteness as a privileged way of life that set itself apart from those categorised as inferior is relevant to the study as it will help interpret the experiences of Black African parents and their narratives as far as school history is concerned. In other words

education was used as a vehicle to exclude the Black majority while at the same time school history was used to instil the idea of White superiority and Black subordination.

The ideas of Whiteness and White supremacy are nevertheless entangled around the concept of race and capitalism. Metaphorically, “whiteness is often associated with innocence and goodness” (Delgado & Stefancic, 2011, p.75). Such attributes were later used in history in the social classification of people in terms of White and non-Whites (i.e. Blacks). We saw earlier how Black Africans became the solution for the European capitalism economy in the New World only because they were perceived to be inferior in relation to those racialised as Whites. However, such categorisation formed the basis of racial stratification in society, where the concept of “race is not objective or biologically significant, but constructed by social sentiment and power struggle” (Delgado & Stefancic, 2011, p.75). Similarly, Gabriel, (2007) pointed out that the idea of Whiteness needs to be understood beyond the social categorised identity of people classified as White. In fact Whiteness is a complex structure that is socially constructed in order to set itself apart from other racial groups and thus promoting and advancing the interests of White supremacy in all aspects of life such. For instance, Gabriel, (2007) defines Whiteness as “a multi-faceted construct which serves both to maintain white supremacy – the structured and systematic social, political, cultural and economic domination and privilege upon those classed as white” (p.73). In other words, this interwoven structure strengthens the White hegemony and legitimises Whiteness as a normalcy and a way of life in society thus excluding those classified as non-Whites (i.e. Blacks). In other words, Whiteness plays a specific function in the social-fabric of White identity and supremacy. For instance, Whiteness:

shapes the world-view and understanding of self and society of whites; ... functions as a tool of racial oppression because it exists within a hierarchy of colour placing itself at the top and non-whites in subordinate positions, and ... is invisible for whites as it is incorporated in the mainstream, yet is highly visible to non-whites because it is easy for them to recognise when their interests are excluded from the mainstream (Gabriel, 2007, p.74).

This suggests that the concept of Whiteness through its hegemonic power and dominance over other racial groups has set the norm which has become an acceptable benchmark of a standardised way of life in society that cannot be held accountable. It

is in this context that Dyer (2008, p.10), pointed out that “as long as race is something only applied to non-white peoples, as long as white people are not racially seen and named, they function as a human norm.” As a result other racial groups tend to be viewed or “defined in terms of or in opposition to whiteness – that which are not” (Delgado & Stefancic, 2011, p.76). In support of this idea, Gabriel (2007) argues that “whiteness contains a structuring element which places non-whites in a subordinate position within a hierarchical structure that locates Whites in position of social, economic and political superiority and advantage” (p.76) . This, however, highlights the privileges that have now become synonymous with Whiteness and the fact that people of colour such as Blacks seem to lag behind in many aspects therefore they become eager to be part of Whiteness in order to benefit of the myriad privileges attached to Whiteness.

Another characteristic of Whiteness in society is that of ‘invisibility’ (Dyer, 2008; Garner, 2006; Gabriel, 2007). This suggests that White people do not see themselves as a racialised group (Dyer, 2008) because Whiteness is deeply entrenched within a White or Western culture that has set itself apart from the rest thus occupying the top hierarchical position of races. In other words, other groups (i.e. Black Africans) must comply with the culture of Whiteness in order to feel accepted in the grand culture of Whiteness – the universal world. Therefore, “whiteness is an invisible perspective, a dominant and normative space against which difference is measured” (Garner, 2006, p.259). This highlights the hierarchical aspect of Whiteness in that it “represents orderliness, rationality, and self-control, and non-Whiteness as chaos, irrationality, violence, and breakdown of self-regulation” (Kincheloe, 1999, p.2). In support of this view, (Gabriel, 2007; Delgado & Stefancic, 2011) argue that whiteness is invisible to the people categorised as White because it reflects their consistent and systematic way of doing things (normalcy) thus promoting their world-view as the only way or ‘window’ through which we can view and understand the world.

However, this could be linked to the idea of power and force embedded within the culture of Whiteness to exert full control and economic subjugation of Black Africans. It is this context that (Dyer, 2008, p.10) pointed out that “the claim to power is the claim to speak for the commonality of humanity. Raced people can’t do that – they can only speak for their race. But non-race people can, for they do not represent the interests

of a race". Through such authority coupled with the unwavering commitment to spread Western civilisation and the belief for representing the interests of humanity maintains and sustains both Whiteness and White supremacy in society. This was the case in apartheid South Africa where "whites were condition to regard apartheid society as normal" (Thompson, 2014, p.201), and this notion helped cement relationship of master and servant between the whites and blacks. In addition, such a relationship helped promote the idea of whiteness and white supremacy in that the whites possessed all the privileges and that they were prosperous too 'as the middle and upper classes in Europe and North America" (Thompson, 2014, p.201).

It is important to note that given the advantage that Whiteness represents in society it becomes dominantly visible to people of colour for example Blacks whether implicitly or explicitly expressed (Garner, 2006; Gabriel, 2007). Historically, the people of colour have been looked down upon, and moreover they faced exploitation and discrimination at the hands of those categorised as White. According to Garner, (2006) the question of invisibility seems to be determined primarily by a perspective from which Whiteness is experienced. For instance during apartheid most Black people experienced the overt racism as characterised by segregation and were discriminated against on the basis of their race which made them realise that 'universality of Whiteness' did not represent their interests but it excluded them from all the privileges attached to Whiteness and White supremacy. It is important to note that, the pursuit of white privileges as a normal and appropriate thing to do, has always looked down upon the efforts and abilities of people of colour in all aspects of life (Kincheloe, 1999). This was the experience and fate of many Black African people in South Africa during the apartheid era. Apart from being confined to homelands as decreed by apartheid laws, they were further dispensed a sub-standard form of education that offered them little chance to progress in life unlike their White counterparts. In other words, Whiteness and White supremacy under apartheid, has resulted in high levels of inequality in terms of opportunities and prospects for the future between the Whites and Black African people particularly. This is the aspect of critical race theory that will be used to analyse the historical contexts that shaped the experiences of Black African parents and thus put into perspective their lived experiences in the form of narratives.

Another important aspect is that of Whiteness as 'property' as explained earlier under the second tenet of this study. According to Hiraldo (2015) the idea of Whiteness as property could be closely associated with the historical past of slavery in the New World and the USA. Black people in particular, were denied basic human rights and moreover they were considered mere objects for work in plantations and also that they became property of their slave and colonial masters. This implies that, "the origins of property rights in the USA are rooted in racial domination" (Harris, 1993, p.1716), where "the racialisation of identity and racial subordination of blacks provided the ideological basis for slavery and conquest" (Crenshaw, 1995, p.277). In the same way, (Hiraldo, 2015, p.55) stated that the idea of whiteness as property "has been perpetuated as an asset that only White individuals can possess".

As a result, many Africans who migrated across the Atlantic Ocean as part of the slave trade were not only exploited and oppressed as slaves but also became the property of the slave owners, who had the right to sell them at will if they no longer needed them. Therefore, "once chattel slavery became the dominant labour system in Southern and mid-Atlantic colonies, white identity and white skin became property that guaranteed sources of privilege and production" (Harris, 1993, p. 1723). This suggests that since its inception the term Whiteness as property not only was used to promote racial stratification and subordination of Black people, however the term had legal implications attached to it. Such legal implications were evidenced by the fact that Black people were conferred lower status and that their rights and interests as human beings were completely suppressed. On the contrary, "the law made whiteness a prerequisite for citizenship rights" (Tillery, 2009, p.643) and consequently Blacks remained mere slaves and means of production for their masters. Therefore, the relationship between the ideas of race and property as Whiteness played a crucial role in the process of creating and "sustaining racial economic subordination" (Crenshaw, 1995, p.277). This was also the case in South Africa under apartheid when the majority of Black Africans were not considered as citizens of White South Africa, but as mere residents of homelands who through apartheid legislation were geared to supply cheap labour to various White enterprises and businesses such as farms and mines. On this matter, the Department of Bantu Administration stated that, "it is accepted Government policy that the Bantu are only temporarily resident in the European areas

of the Republic for as long as they offer their labour there” (Thompson, 2014, p.200), because the Africans were forbidden by law to leave their designated homelands. Such strict control of Black Africans was further extended to the education system where the Black Africans were subjected to inferior education dispensed under the tutelage of the Department of Bantu Education.

Therefore, race forms the central part of almost all societal interactions or transactions in the world (Dyer, 2008). The effectiveness of these societal transactions tends to be determined by racial classification of an individual. So often such classification has a tendency to favour the dominant class in that they are in a more privileged position and that all the decisions they make serve, to promote and sustain their holistic interests such as social, economic, political and even educational. In other words, “the myriad minute decisions that constitute the practices of the world are at every point informed by judgements about people’s capacities and worth, judgements based on what they look like, where they come from...that is racial judgement” (Dyer, 2008, p.9). One basic example linked to this, is when people in South Africa are required to fill in their racial identity in forms either for employment purposes or to secure a place in an educational institution. However, this could be used as a glass ceiling method to sieve through the preferred individuals from the non-preferred ones in accessing privileges and positions of power in society. For instance, during apartheid the preferred individuals were the White minority who were favoured by the system in all aspects of life including their well-funded and organised education system. On the other hand the majority of Black African people had the opposite of the White experience. Through apartheid policies and the education system the then government sought to create a universal culture of whiteness that in turn would promote and maintain the White supremacy ideology in South Africa. However, more than two decades after the demise of the apartheid system, the Affirmative Action policy of the ANC led government seems to be working on reverse order of things contrary to what used to be before. For instance, the previously disadvantaged people (i.e. the Black African majority) are now favoured by the system and that all positions of power are earmarked for them in the name of addressing the imbalances of the past. Nevertheless, such an approach is informed by the past historical context in which the Black African majority in South Africa found themselves at the periphery of the economy as mere labourers

in the farms and in the mines with few chances or opportunities to progress in life. Such a situation condemned them to an inferior and subordinate position in society.

3.11 Blackness and Black inferiority

The idea of Whiteness as a norm of life serves as an antithesis to Blackness that is often linked to chaos and inferiority. Focus on Blackness is relevant to the study in that Black people for centuries have been suppressed and discriminated against on racial lines. Since CRT focuses on issues of race it will seek to investigate how black African parents' narratives are influenced by both historical and social contexts of apartheid era that advocated racial segregation and racism as its policy. As a consequence, after the demise of the apartheid regime we began to experience an unprecedented influx of Black Africans learners into the former Model C schools or White schools but we never saw White children going to former Black schools in townships. One would therefore wonder why it is so. This means that it is the normalcy or Whiteness that Black African parents attempt to achieve for their children. In other words, Whiteness is what the Black African people are aspiring to.

Contrary to the concept of Whiteness, the notion of Blackness "often carries connotations of evil and menace" (Delgado & Stefancic, 2011, p.75). Such depictions of danger and terror associated with Black people were common occurrences that pitted the Black Africans from the time of slavery to colonialism and apartheid. Such inferences not only undermined the Black race but most importantly they ranked the black race at the bottom of all the races.

However, it is necessary to note that the negative connotation of Blackness could be traced back to the historical events of slave trade and colonisation (Gabriel, 2007). In other words, the imperial expansion to the new world contributed to the genesis of the concepts of 'White' and 'non-White' in society (Rabaka, 2007). This suggests that Blackness and Black inferiority are social constructs which emerged in a given historical context with the sole purpose to control and subjugate the Black Africans for economic reasons. According to Rabaka (2007), "Europeans needed cheap labour force to extra-exploit and work their newly and imperial acquired continents, countries, colonial settlements and plantations" (p.3).

It was through such expansionist venture that exploitation, prejudice, and hierarchical classification of races such as white supremacy and black inferiority took root thus leading to racism. According to Rabaka (2007) "...racism is a result of European push for global dominance" (p.3). Similarly Gabriel (2007), points out that Black inferiority is a "legacy of chattel enslavement and colonisation and a consequence of the oppressive nature of white supremacy" (p.85).

The denigrating process of Black people in America for instance, was further effected through the education system. Therefore, school curriculum was part and parcel of the racial machination aimed at maintaining and sustaining the views of White supremacy and Black subordination. The education system in America for instance, adopted Eurocentric perspectives that inculcated the views that Black Africans were merely inferior, savages and that they "made no productive contribution to civilization" (King & Brown, 2014, p.24). Therefore, such notions helped establish the master and servant relationships where each racial group came to acquiesce as normal their inherent status in society (King & Brown, 2014). Similarly, as mentioned in Chapter 2 of this study, education for Black Africans had as its objectives "to prepare the black man for subservient role in the country" (Biko & Stubbs, 2002, p.36). This suggests that Black Africans either in America or in the African continent were not only conquered by force but also through education systems that omitted and excluded the African history and stories from the mainstream school curriculum. It is in this context that Biko (2002) points out that:

In an effort to destroy completely the structures that had been built up in African society and impose their imperialism with an unnerving totality the colonialists were satisfied merely with holding a people in their grip and emptying the native's brain of all form and content, they turned to the past of the oppressed people and destroyed, distorted, disfigured and destroyed it. No longer was reference made to African culture, it became barbarism (p.3).

Such indoctrination and destruction of Black African heritage not only in South Africa but also in countries like USA, Brazil and Australia was mainly to inculcate the spirit of assimilation of Western culture – Whiteness – on Black people and thus rejecting their own identity as Africans. According to Gabriel (2007), "...in order to appreciate blackness one has to remove the lens of Whiteness and discard its limited visibility

and narrow perspective and adopt a universal view of the world” (p.91), by challenging the Eurocentric perspective or worldview. One would ask therefore why the Europeans would choose to distort and destroy Black African heritage. The rationale behind this could be that the Europeans and the colonialist were fully aware that “blackness carries with it history, culture, identity and spirituality” (Gabriel, 2007, p.85). Through assimilation of Western culture or Whiteness was an attempt to eliminate the shared experiences of oppression and humiliation of Black Africans over centuries. As a result, the concept ‘Black’ “came to encompass all the exploited, irrespective of their Africanness” (Fatton as cited in Biko & Stubbs, 2002, p.171). Similarly, Gabriel (2007) asserts that “blackness should not be equated solely with dark skin among people of African descent but should be understood as a level of consciousness (p.91). This suggests that, the effect of repression, exploitation, of the inferior groups by the ruling elites, and lack of opportunities to attain their desired goals lead the oppressed people to identify themselves as a people who suffer or experience the same fate of subservience and inferiority. So often, people subjected to such difficult living conditions tend to lose hope of being successful in their lifetime since the system conditions them to believe in the normalcy of their poverty.

3.12 Success against odds of ‘inferior groups’

Repression, and control of State institutions, in particular the education system, are some of the means which the ruling elites use to impede academic success of those classified as inferior in society (Makkawi, 2011). To illustrate, the majority of Black Africans in South Africa have experienced repression at the hands of White Afrikaner nationalists through legislation and most importantly through education where the four racial groups (Europeans, Indians, Coloureds and Black Africans) had different education systems. Such differentiation of the education system was not only aimed at cementing the notion of whiteness which is embedded on white privilege but it was also designed to deliver different products to different racial groups.

As mentioned before in this study, the education of Black Africans, was of an inferior standard. That is, by means of Bantu Education, the Afrikaner nationalists used repression to disempower Black African learners (Morrow, 1990), thus creating

favourable conditions for massive drop-outs of the schooling system, as well as reproducing huge inequalities (Lemon & Battersby-Lennard, 2009) between the White and Black people in all aspects. This suggests that poverty and socioeconomic inequalities faced by the majority of Black Africans were contributing factors for Black African learners' underperformance as they often went to school hungry thereby maximising their risks for failure. Expressed another way, "economic adversity, inferior elementary and secondary circumstances, are prime variables that position individuals as educationally at-risk: at-risk of not going to college and at-risk of not completing college once they enter" (LeSavoy, 2010, p.5). One could argue therefore that, while the education for White learners has been designed to produce leaders, owners of the means of production and leaders of the apartheid capitalist economy. On the other hand the education for Black Africans was geared towards mass production of cheap labour which helped to relegate Black Africans to perpetual subservience and poverty (Thompson, 2014).

However, amidst such difficulties resilient and determined learners manage to succeed in spite of challenging circumstances. It is in this context that Larimore (2015), argued that, "despite incredible hardships and the presence of at-risk factors, some students developed characteristics and coping skills that enable them to succeed" (p. 1). Amongst resilient learners the family plays a vital role in motivating and guiding learners to achieve better results. Moreover, such a supportive system could be extended to institutions that advocate a culture of academic excellence. In other words, "...schools that foster student resilience have been found to emphasise academic learning and opportunity for all" (Floyd, 1996, p.182). Apart from the role of the family, another important aspect associated with resilience and success is locus of control. According to Floyd (1996), the locus of control a "belief that forces shaping one's life are largely within one's own control" (p.183). Therefore, it is through such belief and assertiveness that resilient learners find their way out despite the existing circumstances such as poverty and political contexts.

3.13 Conclusion

As a race centred theoretical framework, CRT not only seeks to address issues related to race and racism but is also concerned with issues of social justice. Therefore, CRT

is a relevant framework for the study in that it will seek to investigate the narratives of Black African parents who are influenced by both historical and social contexts in which their lived experiences evolved. Moreover, through the key tenets of CRT I will be in a position to investigate and better understand the storied narratives of the Black African parents. In other words, through their lived experiences, as well as engaging with their stories which will undoubtedly help shed light on their experiences and views of school history as learners then, and besides their attitudes towards school history today as adults. The following chapter will focus on the methodology adopted for this study.

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

The great challenge facing the storyteller and historian alike is to get inside people's heads, to stand where they stood and see the world as they saw it, to make some informed estimate of their motives and intentions – and this is precisely where recorded and recordable history cannot reach (Fryan, 1998, p.97).

4.1 Introduction

The focus of this study is to investigate the relationship between parents, and school history in apartheid and post-apartheid eras and how this leads parents to produce certain narratives regarding post-apartheid schooling in South Africa. In the previous chapter, I explained the theoretical framework (Critical Race Theory) that this study is utilising. In this chapter, I focus on issues relevant to the research design and methodology of the study. Both the design and the methodology I employed in the study will help me answer the main research questions of this study:

- *What are the narratives of Black African parents as they relate to school history in both apartheid and post-apartheid South Africa?*
- *How do their narratives explain why their children do or do not do school history?*

This chapter is comprised of two main sections: in the first section I will firstly provide an understanding of research design followed by a discussion on phenomenology which is the design for this study. Then follows a discussion about the concept research paradigm which is followed by a discussion of the research paradigm which underpins the study. Such a discussion was aimed at placing my paradigm of choice into perspective. After discussion on paradigms I move on to discuss the qualitative approach for this study which is followed by discussions about epistemological and ontological assumptions. The second section focusses on research methodology

which includes the relevant methods for data gathering, sampling, and data analysis employed in this study. I employed narrative inquiry as my overarching research methodology. Towards the end of the chapter I discuss issues of trustworthiness and ethical considerations followed by a conclusion.

4.2 Understanding research design

A research design plays a vital role in any scholarly work. A research design can be understood as a strategic plan which a researcher adopts for his or her study. It is a thorough planning in which the researcher outlines what needs to be done and how the research will be conducted. The research design, as a part of a broad methodological approach, entails identifying relevant questions to be answered by the study; identifying methods of data collection and data analysis (Punch, 2005). Therefore, the research design for this study began with the formulation of the research topic as well as the research questions which the study seeks to answer. Consequently, after the questions were formulated relevant literature associated with the subject topic of the study was thoroughly consulted, thus helping me to select an appropriate design or plan for this study. According to Punch (2005) a research design must be aligned to a theoretical paradigm and research approach to show that the researcher tackles his or her study from an established scholarly framework.

Bertram and Christiansen (2014) define research design as a “plan of how the researcher will systematically collect and analyse the data that is needed to answer the research questions” (p.40). Maree (2007), in turn views research design as a “plan or strategy which moves from underlying philosophical assumptions to specifying the selection of respondents, the data gathering techniques to be used and the data analysis to be done” (p.70). Similarly, Babbie and Mouton (2001) view research design as a blue print of how a researcher intends to undertake his or her research. Meanwhile, Creswell (1998) views design as part of the “entire process of research from conceptualizing a problem, to writing the narrative” (p.2). The above authors collectively suggest that any scholarly study presupposes a thorough planning and meticulous undertaking of the plan that the researcher must observe and follow in order to attain the desired outcome.

It is important to note that there are different kinds of designs in qualitative research. For instance, Creswell (1998) as quoted in De Vos (2005, p. 269) identified at least five distinct research approaches namely; “biography, phenomenology, grounded theory, ethnography, and case study”. For the purpose of this study I adopted phenomenology as a design.

4.3 Phenomenology as research design

Phenomenology focuses on life experiences of individuals as well as their construction of meaning (Denscombe, 2003). This links well with the methodology of this study, narrative inquiry, which also seeks to understand the storied lives of individuals. One of the main concerns of phenomenology is to bring to the fore individuals’ experiences in a more realistic and genuine way as possible. According to (Denscombe, 2003; De Vos, 2005) phenomenology focusses not only on human experiences but also seeks to understand and interpret the meanings that people attach to their experiences. That is, a phenomenological approach to research “concentrates its efforts in the kind of human experiences that are pure, basic and raw” (Denscombe, 2003, p. 98). In support of this line of thought are Bogdan and Taylor (1975) quoted in Babbie and Mouton (2001, p. 271):

The phenomenologist views human behaviour as a product of how people interpret their world. The task of the phenomenologist, and for us, the qualitative methodologists, is to capture this process of interpretation. In order to grasp the meanings of a person’s behaviour the phenomenologist attempts to see things from that person’s point of view.

Based on this, the purpose of the study is to investigate the narratives of Black African parents as they relate to school history in both the apartheid and the post-apartheid contexts, and how these narratives explain why their children do school history or not.

Therefore, the study will seek to understand the first - hand schooling experiences of Black African parents as learners back then and their role now as parents in the schooling of their children whether they do school history or not. For a researcher to portray people’s lived experiences in a more fitting manner and close to the original experience it is necessary for him or her to be empathetic, thus seeing the experiences

through the eyes of the participants. Such an approach, according to Denscombe (2003), "... places the idea and reasoning of the group being studied at the core of investigation; it elevates the importance of people's thinking in terms of the research; and people's everyday thinking are given credibility and respect in its own right as valid" (p. 99). In other words, I engaged with the participants as they told me about their lived experiences but without necessarily ignoring how they feel and affected by their experiences. By so doing I showed them that I fully understand what they feel but however without having to change their stories making mine.

The above suggest that, participants' narratives will form the basis of the study. My role as a researcher was to attempt to understand the contexts in which their experiences have evolved and how these influence their meaning making in relation to schooling and schooling history in the post-apartheid era. It is against such a backdrop that Denscombe (2003) argues that phenomenologists are interested in the way in which individuals construct meaning of their experiences. Linking this to the topic of the study, the design I adopted for this study will help shed light on the various factors influencing Black African parents' on whether their children do school history or do not. In other words, "people [Black African parents] are viewed as agents who interpret their experiences and who actively create an order to their experiences" (Denscombe, 2003, p. 99). This is contrary to the positivists' assumption of objectivity and single reality, but phenomenologists posit that objects or phenomenon can be seen "in different ways by different people at different times in different circumstances, and that each alternative version needs to be recognised as being valid in its own right" (Denscombe, 2003, p. 100). As is seen in the next section, the phenomenological design correlates with the critical paradigm which I adopted to guide this study.

4.4 Research paradigm

Any scholarly research needs to be underpinned by a paradigmatic framework. Paradigms play a vital role not only in the way which we view the world, but also on how we conduct research. For a researcher to conduct a trustworthy and credible research it is necessary that the study is aligned to a particular paradigm through which reality is interpreted or understood (Maree, 2007). Therefore, a review of relevant

literature in the field of interest helps the researcher to select an appropriate paradigm for the study. A paradigm can be understood as “an intellectual framework comprising of interrelated values, theories and assumptions within which the search for knowledge is conducted” (Heywood, 2002, p. 20). For Guba and Lincoln (1994) a paradigm “represents a worldview that defines for its holder, the nature of the world, the individual’s space in it, and possible relationships to that world and its parts” (p. 107). This suggests that, in a research process the researcher is guided by the mentioned paradigmatic principles or values which help the researcher to take a firm position in the study before he or she could thoroughly engage in a research project. In other words, it is important for the researcher from the outset to clearly state the kind of paradigm that the study is aligned with as this allows the researcher to conduct the study within an acceptable and relevant theoretical paradigm or worldview.

Considering the above, being able to identify and articulate your position is important because it helps in “making coherent, ethical, and theoretically informed choices at every stage of the research process” (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2010, p. 36). This allows the researcher to conduct the study within an acceptable and relevant theoretical paradigm for the study. In other words, in order to make a well-informed choice it is important for the researcher to firstly be aware of the main assumptions that such a selected paradigm defends about social reality. According to Du Plooy-Colliers et al., (2014) when a researcher decides to use a particular paradigm it suggests that he or she has also selected a particular way of studying or understanding phenomenon significant to the research project. Lincoln and Guba (1985), conceptualise that a “paradigm represents what we think about the world, our actions in the world, including the actions we take as inquires, cannot occur without reference to those paradigms” (p. 15).

It follows then that as a set of values and beliefs paradigms are closely intertwined with the basic assumptions about reality in terms of ontological, epistemological, and methodological positions (Asghar, 2013). In this regard Della Porta and Keating’s (2008) epistemological position in qualitative research is with reference to knowledge about reality or the world; and ontological position focuses on the existence of social reality and how it is viewed; whereas methodological base refers to the research instruments adopted to collect data. Therefore, the researcher’s position as far as

paradigm selection is concerned works as a window through which one views and interpret the world. Therefore, as a researcher I adopted the critical paradigm in order to help me answer the research questions for this study.

It is important to note that for too long research has been dominated by two main paradigms – positivists and constructivism (Asghar, 2013). This reality created a vacuum for the emergence of critical theory that sought to challenge and transform the status quo in society. According to Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2011):

In the critical view, the traditional positivist scientific process ultimately creates knowledge that is used to maintain – justify, fortify, reconstruct – the status quo in which minorities are oppressed through the reproduction of dominant ideology (p. 21).

Linking this to my study, I explained in Chapter 2 how the apartheid system through its policies including education (Bantu Education System) were used in order to construct an inferior image of and world for the majority of Black Africans in South Africa.

Therefore, I align this study with the critical paradigm in order to understand how the power relations impacted on Black African parents since their stories or narratives take place within two conflicting historical periods: the apartheid and post-apartheid eras in South Africa.

The critical paradigm has its roots in critical theory. It is the task of critical theory to emancipate the oppressed or discriminated individuals in society (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2007). In other words, the power relations in society are not equal and it often favours the dominant groups at the expense of the oppressed, the weak and the vulnerable members of society. The critical paradigm “embodies different ideologies such as post-modernism, neo-Marxism, and feminism” (Mack, 2010, p. 9), which are aimed at addressing societal challenges through emancipation and empowering the disadvantaged people in society. It is important to note that critical theory emerged as a result of criticism of educational research that was perceived as being more inclined to “efficiency and rationality of design” (Mack, 2010, p. 9), thus ignoring the most critical issues such as social inequalities and power relations. Therefore, critical approaches often emphasise the role and the impact that political, economic, and educational contexts have on individuals in terms of meaning construction of the world around them.

According to Gage (1989), “researchers must be aware of political and economic foundations of knowledge, curriculum, and teaching” (p. 5). This means while on one hand the critical paradigm concerns itself in challenging the sources of social inequality, it is on the other hand working towards changing their life situation for the better by empowering the powerless and the underprivileged members of society. Linking this to the topic of this study, Black African parents due to political and socio-economic circumstances of the time were hardly considered as worthy human beings as they were denied quality education and opportunities linked to it. As a result, during apartheid the majority of Black Africans attended poor schools which were overcrowded often characterised by poor infrastructure such as mud-brick schools and severe lack of school furniture and stationery.

Therefore, the critical paradigm is concerned with issues of power relations which often lead to unfair treatment of the inferior groups in society. The unfair treatment could be in the form of discrimination, social injustice and or inequality. For the purpose of this study inferior groups refers to the people without adequate resources at their disposal. For instance, during the apartheid era Black Africans were considered to be inferior in relation to their White counterparts because they lacked in all aspects of life. According to van Dijk (2008, p. 64) social power is defined “in terms of control exercised by one group or organisation over the actions and/ or the minds of another group, thus limiting the freedom of action of the others or influencing their knowledge, attitude or ideologies”. My view regarding social power is that it is a result of social construction where a dominant group or class impose their views over the inferior groups thus making such views acceptable and normal to the oppressed through the education system (see the tenants of CRT Chapter 3). Moreover, such a situation is closely intertwined with political, economic and historical factors or context in which the life experiences of the people evolve.

In Chapter 3 I explained how Black Africans were subjected to humiliation, discrimination and social injustice only because they were categorised as Blacks. Therefore, the critical paradigm which I adopted for this study is relevant in that it complements the theoretical framework (CRT) that underpins this study. For me to understand Black African parents’ experiences as they relate to school history it is

necessary as a researcher to hear their stories and engage with them in a form of a dialogue about their life experiences during the apartheid years as learners and now, in post-apartheid South Africa, as parents.

The critical paradigm will help illuminate some aspects of present life situation pertinent to the participants of the study. For instance, colonial and apartheid domination over Black Africans led to their categorisation of inferior and powerless due to the historical and political context in which they lived. Though living under a democratic dispensation today the majority of Black Africans in South Africa still lack power in terms of economic emancipation which determines the way they see things around them. That is, Black African parents desire to see their children more empowered today than they were in the past as learners during apartheid. It is in this context that Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2011) pointed out that "... we live in power-laden context" (p.4), where those classified as the 'other' endure repression at the hand of dominant groups. Similarly, Bertram & Christiansen (2014) posit that the world in which we live is characterised by "unequal power relations where the dominant groups hold power, while the inferior groups are oppressed" (p. 28). According to Guba & Lincoln (1994, p. 19) critical paradigm "is concerned with issues of power relations, interaction of race ... education and other social institutions that contribute to a social system". This suggests that at an epistemological level, critical researchers posit that reality is subjective and is constructed by individuals in relation to the existence of power relations in society.

In terms of ontological positioning, the critical paradigm asserts that social reality and people's lived experiences can be better understood within social, political, and economic contexts in which the individuals live because they help shape their worldview and hence, they "are the foundations of our knowledge" (Gage, 1989, p. 5). For instance, the social power that the dominant groups possess over the weak is also extended in educational institutions which help spread and define social reality, thus making the views of the dominant group acceptable. Therefore, reality or the notion of truth is multiple, and it is closely linked to the socio-economic and political power relations.

Moreover, power relations in society, which is the focus of critical paradigm, are also determined by the quality access to different discursive platforms such as access to

quality education, access to medical attention and legal systems (van Dijk, 2008). It follows therefore that, those who lack or are denied access to such discursive platforms often are categorised as inferior and powerless members of society who become mere victims of oppression and subjugation at the hands of the dominant group or class. It is in this context that van Dijk (2008, p. 67) pointed out that “measures of discourse access may be rather faithful indicators of the power of social groups and their members”. For instance, this was the case in apartheid South Africa when the majority of Black Africans were systematically denied quality access in all aspects of life including education through racist discriminatory policies at the time (see Chapters 1 and 2). In other words, the education dispensed to Black Africans during that time is a clear example of discursive access to power in that the education they received did not equip them with necessary skills, but rendered them powerless in all standards in comparison to their White counterparts. While the ANC led government presently continues in its attempt to address the imbalances of the past however most Black African students particularly at tertiary level still lack the financial power to fund their studies hence the continuous protests and the call for free education. The *#Fees Must Fall campaign* is a clear example of lack of power and prevalence of inequality in our society.

Linking this to the study, in the literature review chapter, I explained how the discriminatory apartheid policies and the Bantu Education system worked in constructing the inferior image of Black people in the country. Therefore, as a researcher, for me to understand the lived experiences of Black African parents it is equally necessary for me to seek to understand their social, economic and political contexts as these aspects were shaped by both apartheid and post-apartheid ideologies. Ideology can be defined as “an organised collection of ideas. The main purpose behind ideology is to offer change in society through a normative thought process. Ideologies tend to be abstract thoughts applied to reality” (Asghar, 2013, p. 3124). Therefore, qualitative research is a suitable approach for this study in order to understand Black African parents’ schooling and school history experiences. It is important to note that this study does not aim to change the participants’ circumstances, but seeks to empower the vulnerable. Therefore, I adopted a qualitative approach to attain the purpose of this study.

As indicated above in 4.4, a paradigm can be understood as a philosophical way of viewing the world. In addition, a paradigm could also be a set of beliefs that guide the researcher within a scholarly perspective. Moreover, paradigms are comprised of boundaries in terms of their epistemological and ontological positions (Bertram & Christiansen, 2014; Du Plooy-Cilliers et al., 2014). Similarly, Kivunja and Kuyini (2017) point out that paradigms “describe a researcher’s worldview which is a set of shared beliefs that informs the interpretation of research data” (p. 26).

Therefore, I adopted the critical paradigm for this study because it is concerned with issues of power relations and social justice as explained above. The critical paradigm will help shed light in understanding how power relations impacted on schooling and school history experiences of Black African parents - who are the participants of this study during apartheid as learners and now as parents in the post-apartheid era. Therefore, the critical paradigm tallies with the qualitative approach that this study adopted to have a better understanding of the lived experiences as well as the participants constructed meanings.

4.5 Qualitative approach

The study has adopted a qualitative approach. According to Creswell (2009) qualitative research is a “means for exploring and understanding the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to social or human problem” (p.4). Similarly, Bradley (1993), points out that researchers who employ qualitative research endeavour to understand the lived experiences of people in different contexts. The context in which human experiences evolve impacts directly on how they make sense of the world or the reality in which they are living.

It is important to note that researchers who employ a qualitative research approach are concerned in approaching human experiences in a holistic perspective in order to make sense of the experiences through interpretation and analysis. That is, the researcher needs to be immersed in the phenomenon under study and therefore reliving the experience of the participants and to be part of it Krauss (2005). Similarly, Du Plooy-Cilliers et al. (2014) assert that qualitative research is “interested in the depth of human experience, personal and subjective particularities that are characteristic of

individual experiences and meanings associated with particular phenomenon” (p. 174). Linking this to the topic of this study, through semi-structured interviews Black African parents will provide me with in-depth experiences of their school days and school history as learners during apartheid and now as parents.

Qualitative research is not a linear process and often researchers find themselves deeply involved in back and forth movements in the quest of gaining more information and clarifying issues with the participants of the study. Unlike the quantitative research that focusses on numbers, the focus of qualitative research is on ‘words and text’ (Hesse-Biber, 2011, p.4). This makes the researcher hands-on in the process of constructing meaning from collected data.

According to (Gray, 2009) the qualitative research approach encompasses various theoretical and methodological stances which are used to generate and analyse data. The generated data is both contextual and embedded with meaning and it is therefore the task of a qualitative researcher to attempt to make sense of the data from the participants. It is in this context that (Gray, 2009) points out that “qualitative data is open to multiple interpretations” (p. 116), and it is the nature of qualitative research to search for meaning since meaning “does not exist on its own right; it is constructed by human beings as they interact and engage in interpretation” (Robson, 2011, p. 24), because reality varies according to people’s experiences. Qualitative research is also underpinned by ontological and epistemological assumptions in terms of understanding social reality.

According to Pinnegar and Daynes (2007) the differences between qualitative and quantitative research approaches is not whether one uses numbers or not but rests on the assumptions that one makes that distinguish one from the other. It is important to note that quantitative research is based on positivism and it holds the view that knowledge is only acquired through observable, objective scientific methods (Du Plooy-Cilliers et al.; 2014). This suggests that for the positivist science is the only source of knowledge and a means to get a valid truth (Krauss, 2005). On the other hand, for qualitative research there is no objective reality because there are multiple views to understand a particular phenomenon or reality. It is in this context that, according to Babbie and Mouton (2001) the main purpose of researchers using a

qualitative approach is because it describes and understands human action. Babbie and Mouton (2001, p. 270) identified the following features of qualitative research:

- The research is conducted in the natural setting of social actors.
- The focus is on process rather than outcome.
- The primary aim is in-depth descriptions and understanding of actions and events.
- The main concern is to understand social action in terms of specific context rather than attempting to generalise to some theoretical population.
- The research process is inductive in its approach, resulting in the generation of new theories.

When I began this study I had in my mind the dwindling number of learners selecting school history at a high school level. However, as I continued with the research, I realised that there were other factors leading to parents deciding whether their children do school history or not. Therefore, through the inductive approach I was able to discover new insight or theory with regards to parents' position whether their children do school history or not.

It is necessary to highlight that research approaches and paradigms are underpinned by three main philosophical aspects namely epistemological, ontological and axiological assumptions.

4.5.1 Epistemological and ontological assumptions

According to Krauss (2005), epistemology is a study of knowledge that is interested in how people come to know things. Maree (2007) states that epistemology “looks at how one knows reality, the method for knowing the nature of reality” (p. 55). According to Krauss (2005) in a qualitative research knowledge is linked with a constructivist view. This means that, people's experiences and their worldview are about a given phenomenon or reality of life influenced by external factors, such as political, socio-economic and historical context where the individual evolves. It follows then that, because people's experiences are influenced by various factors in society it is necessary for a researcher studying people's experiences to investigate such

experiences for him or her to have a better understanding of the reality or phenomenon under study. It is in this context that Krauss (2005) points out that a researcher to better understand a phenomenon under study, it is necessary for him or her to view the context, thus getting “immersed in it to move into the culture or organisation being studied and experience what it is to be part of it” (p.760).

Qualitative researchers (Hesse-Biber, 2011; Krauss, 2005; and Maree, 2007) argue that since people evolve in different contexts which shape their worldviews it is impossible for them to have one common view of understanding reality or phenomenon since they view and experience reality differently. Robison (2011) posits that, “... there are many realities as there are participants – as well as that of the researcher. In this regard the task of the researcher is to understand the multiple social constructions of meaning and knowledge” (p. 24). Therefore, such multiplicity of meaning highlight the nature of qualitative research of being subjective in its approach in relation to a reality or phenomenon under study. It is in this context that Krauss (2005, p. 760), points out that:

...qualitative research is based on a relativistic, constructivist ontology that posits that there is no objective reality. Rather, there are multiple realities constructed by human beings who experience a phenomenon of interest. People impose order on the world received in an effort to construct meaning;

To use the words of Bradley (1993), “it is useful for all researchers to assess the extent to which participants mean the same thing when they respond in similar ways” (p. 435). This suggests that as a researcher in order to make sense of participants’ lived experiences I must consider all aspects that influence their interpretation of issues around them and their construction of meaning. Linking this to the topic of this study, it is important for me as a researcher to have a full grasp of the dynamics of contexts in which the lived experiences of the participants have evolved in order to understand their schooling and school history experiences during apartheid as learners and now as parents. In support of this line of thought is Maree (2007) who argues that in qualitative research every cultural and historical situation “is different and unique and requires analyses of the uniquely defined, particular contexts in which it is embedded” (p. 55).

According to Kivunja and Kuyini (2017) ontology is concerned with assumptions that people make regarding what is considered to be real. Du Plooy-Cilliers et al.; (2014) argue that institutions such as schools and political ideologies are used by dominant groups to influence the essence of being and knowledge in society. For instance, this was the case in South Africa when the majority of Black Africans were subjected to an inferior form of education, which was not only aimed at serving the privileged White population but also to cement a certain reality of White superiority and Black inferiority based on the differentiation of the education system. This means that through this form of education Black Africans viewed oppression and racial segregation as their reality while on the other hand the White population saw all the privileges they enjoyed as a normal thing for them. It is in this context that Du Plooy-Cilliers et al., (2014) point out that "...domination and oppression are often the result of dominant ideologies based on illusions, distortions and myths about how society operates. These illusions then empower some groups to exploit others" (p. 32). Therefore, the critical paradigm will help me to understand how the education system for instance under apartheid was used as tool for segregation and deprivation of Black Africans from accessing quality education and benefits attached to it. Du Plooy-Cilliers et al., (2014) posit that the role of a researcher using a critical paradigm is to uncover the structure of injustice in society in order to expose and criticise such structures, while at the same time seeking to empower people to free themselves from social injustice such as oppression and exploitation.

Therefore, my epistemological and ontological assumptions are informed by the literature outlining various perspectives, research design and methodology adopted as to how to know things including what is considered truth. But also, my epistemological and ontological assumption was derived from my experience of an accident I was involved in together with three of my friends. One of my friends was seated in front and the other friend and I were seated at the back seat of the minibus taxi. Suddenly the driver lost control of the taxi and hit a tree. My friend who was seated in front not only saw everything but sustained serious injuries while the other friend and I hardly realised that the taxi had lost control except that we heard a terrible bang as the driver hit a tree. Though we were in the same transport our experiences of what transpired on the day differ significantly according to the impact that each passenger suffered as a result. This suggests that one incident may produce different

experiences of reality. Therefore, my assumptions are in line with those paradigmatic perspectives that hold the views of multiple realities and subjectivity.

4.6 Research Methodology

Research methodology could be understood as a systematic way of how research is conducted, and it provides the necessary steps that a researcher adopts in order to answer the research questions of the study (Kothari, 2014). Research methodology “relates to a process where the design of the research and choice of particular methods, and their justification in relation to the research project are made evident” (King & Horrocks, 2010, p.18). Therefore, the researcher needs to be able to identify the relevant methods to be used for data collection and data analysis. Research methods in turn refer to the techniques that are used by the researcher in the course of the study. It follows then that the researcher will need to be in a position “to understand the assumptions underlying various techniques and need to know the criteria by which they can decide that certain techniques and procedures will be applicable to certain problems and others will not” (Kothari, 2014, p. 8).

It is important to note that a qualitative research approach and the related research methodology is interactional and interpretive in nature. As a result of the interaction between the researcher and the participants of the study, the participants’ lived experiences (in the case of this study) are interpreted thus constructing new meaning and understanding (De Vos, 2005). Therefore, in this study I adopted narrative inquiry methodology. Narrative inquiry is concerned with understanding people’s lived experiences in a given political and historical context in which people live. Expressed differently, narrative inquiry “involves working with people’s consciously told stories, recognizing that these rest on deeper stories of which people are often unaware” (Bell, 2002, pp. 207-213). This suggests that there must be a close relationship between the phenomenon under study and the kind of methodology employed by the study. The purpose of the study is to investigate the narratives of Black African parents as they relate to school history in both the apartheid and the post-apartheid contexts. Since the study is qualitative in approach, I adopted narrative inquiry as a methodology as

this will help shed light on parents' attitudes regarding whether their children do or do not do school history as a subject at school.

4.6.1 Why Narrative Inquiry?

When I first conceived the idea to pursue this study, one of the things that always preoccupied my mind was the kind of research methodology that I would use for the study. After a thorough reading of literature associated with the topic of the study and engaging with my supervisors, it became clear to me that narrative inquiry would be the most suitable methodology since the focus of the study is to investigate narratives of Black African parents as they relate to school history in both the apartheid and post-apartheid context. Therefore, using narrative inquiry I will be able to gain entry in the participants' life experiences as they will share with me their lived experiences about their school days and school history when they were learners during apartheid and now as parents. This means, "our life connects us to our roots, give us direction, validate our own experience and restore value to our lives" (Atkinson, 2007, p. 224).

Since its emergence as a research method, narrative inquiry has distinguished itself from other qualitative methods by focusing on the three dimensions in the process of understanding people's stories and experience. These dimensions include interaction, continuity and situation, and are used as a metaphor that comprises four elements: inward, outward, forward and backward (Clandinin and Huber, 2002, p.50) in order to analyse peoples' lived experiences; thus making informed construction of participants' stories within these three dimensions. Interaction acknowledges that an individual as a social being gains knowledge and experience through his interaction with others in different social contexts (Dimitriadis & Kamberelis, 2006). According to Riessman (2008), "stories are social artefacts, telling us as much about society and culture as they do about a person or group" (p.106). Similarly, Barton (2004, p.522) notes that "narrative inquirers discover through stories a world that is further exposed, where bridges appear to new interpretations and understanding". The dimension of continuity refers to temporality - past, present and future. That is, stories and people's experiences will need to be understood within a social, historical and political context in which they are told. In the view of Creswell (2012) "a consideration of the past that

is remembered, the present relating to experiences of an event; and the future, looking forward to possible experiences” (p.511). For instance, through this approach I would be able to understand how the legacy of the past impacts on Black African parents’ present lives and what prospects of the future they have for their children as far as school history is concerned. The third dimension is situation or place. Accordingly, Barton argues that (2004) “the people and the land and the stories are inseparable” (p. 523). This suggests that the stories that individuals tell are a representation of their background, the place where they grew up, the place that shapes their experiences and their worldview. Therefore, place could also serve to mirror a collective experience of individuals. This means “narratives shared among a group of people help us come to understand the communities to which individuals belong” (Glover, 2004, p.63). Therefore, these dimensions of narrative inquiry will help me to engage with Black African parents’ lived experiences as they share with me stories that reflect various stages of evolution of their existence as far as schooling and school history experiences are concerned.

4.6.2 The nature of Narrative Inquiry

According to Clandinin and Connelly (2000), narrative inquiry is concerned with exploring and understanding people’s lived experiences through stories. Savin-Baden and van Niekerk (2007) assert that narrative inquiry as methodology uses stories as data, which are collected to make sense of the lived and told experiences. Goodson and Gill (2011) proclaim that narrative inquiry “has emerged in the context of a new wave of philosophical discussion on the relationships between self, other, community, social, political, and historical dynamics” (p.18). The stories or narratives of Black African parents, will provide me with the opportunity to focus and understand how their experiences have evolved over time. This suggests that “events under study are in temporal transition, events and people always have past, present and future ...” (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000, p. 149). Therefore, in this study Black African parents’ stories or narratives must be understood within a context – social, political and historical - in which such stories and experiences evolve. It is in this context that Connelly and Clandinin (2006) conceptualise narrative inquiry as:

...the study of experience as story, a way of thinking about experience. Narrative inquiry as a methodology entails a view of the phenomenon. To use narrative inquiry methodology is to adopt a particular view of experience as phenomenon under study (cited in Clandinin & Murphy, 2009, p. 598).

The above conceptualisation places experience and peoples' stories at the centre of narrative inquiry therefore suggesting that "experience is the fundamental ontological category from which all inquiry – narrative or otherwise - proceeds" (Clandinin & Murphy, 2009, p. 598).

Narrative inquiry does not only focus on understanding people's experiences but also pays closer attention to the "collaboration between the researcher and participants, over time, in a place or series of places, and in social interaction with milieus" (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000, p.20). It is through such a relationship that I will be assisted in the process of making sense of Black African parents' stories as they, reflect and relive their experiences. Barton (2004), points out that "experience and story are kept central in a qualitative approach that uses narratives to excavate deep understanding and meaning embedded in our lives" (p.519). Similarly; (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990) stated that "because of its focus on experience and the qualities of life and education, narrative is situated in a matrix of quality research" (p.3).

Narrative or storytelling is as old as human existence and plays a fundamental role in society. Connelly and Clandinin (1990), posit that, "humans are storytelling organisms, who socially and individually, lead storied lives" (p. 2). Moreover, telling stories is a natural part of life, and "individuals all have stories to tell to others" (Creswell, 2012, p.502). This shows that stories are not only a window through which we see the world but also, a means to understand the world (Park, 2005). Additionally, "individuals construct identities thorough storytelling" (Riessman, 2008, p.8). Thus, it is through the art of storytelling that human beings first obtain knowledge about their family and community histories as well as their consciousness about the world around them. Clandinin and Connelly (2000) point out that narrative researchers "embrace the assumption that the story is one if not the fundamental unit that accounts for human experience" (p.4). Therefore, I selected narrative inquiry in order to understand or have full grasp of the "human experience" which is embedded in Black African parents' stories or accounts regarding their experiences of school history. This is in keeping with the focus of this study which seeks to investigate the relationship between

parents, and school history in the apartheid and post-apartheid eras and how this leads parents to produce certain narratives regarding post-apartheid schooling in South Africa.

It is worth noting that, I used narrative inquiry, as methodology, throughout this research project. Therefore, narrative inquiry helped me to choose the data generation methods and the selection of the sample size for the study. According to Bertram and Christiansen “the size of the sample is determined by the data collection method and style of the research” (2014, p. 63). Also, I was similarly informed by narrative inquiry to choose the semi-structured interviews with open ended questions. The semi-structured interviews allowed me to engage in a more meaningful way with the participants as they expressed themselves about their lived experiences both as learners during apartheid and as parents in post-apartheid South Africa. Moreover, narrative inquiry was also used in making sense of participants’ narratives which involves collaboration between researcher and participants (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000), for better understanding of their experiences. See sections 4.7 and 4.8.

4.6. 3 The role of stories in human experience

According to Riessman (2008) because stories are part of human existence and life itself they are used for different purposes in society. For instance, stories could be used in order to remember past events; to provide arguments; they could be used for persuasion; to engage the audience; and they could be used as source of entertainment as well as a tool for mass mobilisation of people. All these uses of narratives are aimed, at enhancing the epistemological awareness in society so that individuals can ascertain their origin, their identity and their sense of belonging. Park, (2005) points out that “narratives as a way of knowing and understanding, as a way of representing lived experience, offers an alternative to a positivistic model of research” (p.40). Studies (Goodson & Gill, 2011; and Du Plooy-Cillers et al., 2014) show that as far as a positivism paradigm is concerned the researcher is kept outside the social reality and is thus not involved or in touch with the social phenomena under study. Contrary to the positivist paradigm, researchers using narrative inquiry are actively involved in the whole process of trying to make sense of the stories that participants

tell, and such stories are embedded in meanings which represent individuals' experience. The experiences that Black African parents, the participants of this study, share through stories are central to their lives, as the stories they share have the power to shape their worldview and approach to life. Glover (2004) supports this line of thought when he argues that "the stories we tell help us to understand ourselves in relation to others" (p.48). Similarly, Goodson and Gill (2011) maintain that, "narratives provide opportunities to gain insight into the lived experience of individuals and thus can illuminate an understanding of 'field' or culture as a whole" (p.20).

In addition, stories are a unique form of communication and reflect particular historical periods and cultural contexts (Goodson, 2012, p.63). This suggests that since individuals are different or unique, they tend to approach life situations differently too. This could be linked to various factors or circumstances that shape individuals' worldview such as the socialisation process and upbringing, social and political contexts. Therefore, in adopting narrative inquiry as research methodology will help me understand these multifaceted aspects that, impact on the lives of Black African parents and their approach to school history. Moreover, the study will "seek to get the real texture of the story of a real person's life in all its depth, complexity, misery, joy and purpose" (Janesick, 2010, p.15).

Bell (2002, pp. 207-213) identifies the advantages and limitations for researchers working with narrative inquiry:

As far as advantages are concerned, narrative allows researchers to understand experience. People's lives matter, but much research looks at outcomes and disregards the impact of the experience itself. Narrative lets researchers get at information that people do not consciously know themselves. Analysis of people's stories allows deeply hidden assumptions to surface. Also, narrative illuminates the temporal notion of experience, recognizing that one's understanding of people and events changes, (Bell, 2002, pp. 207-213).

On the other hand, as part of limitations of narrative inquiry, narrative is not suitable for all inquiries. Coupled with this, the time commitment required makes it unsuitable for work with many participants. Moreover, when researchers take people's stories and place them into a larger narrative, they are imposing meaning on participants' lived experience, (Bell, 2002, pp. 207-213).

4.7 Sampling method

The process of sampling is one of the key aspects in both qualitative and quantitative research. According to Bertram and Christiansen (2014) such a process entails a thorough decision or choice that the researcher makes about the kind of sampling or sample size that he or she intends to include in the study. Since most studies involve people as participants, it is therefore necessary for the researcher to devise an adequate strategy in terms of who will be part of the sampling process in the study being conducted. In other words, the selection of a sample size is necessary because it would be impossible for the researcher to deal with an extremely huge amount of data if every individual was to be included in the sampling process. So, “sampling decisions are required not only about which people to interview or which events to observe, but also about settings and processes” (Punch, 2005, p. 187). This suggests that such a decision is also determined by the kind of paradigmatic framework that the researcher has adopted for the study. For instance, positivist or quantitative research not only focusses on probability sampling, but also it places emphasis on numbers and representational sampling of a larger population (Du Plooy-Cilliers et al., (2014, p. 135). On the other hand, qualitative researchers are more concerned with “detailed, and in-depth description and analysis” (Bertram & Christiansen, 2014, p. 59); and they tend to adopt purposive sampling (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011, and Bertram & Christiansen, 2014). For Punch (2005), “purposive sampling is a deliberate way, with some purpose or focus in mind” (p. 187). According to Du Plooy-Cilliers et al. (2014) and Bertram and Christiansen (2014) purposive sampling is when a researcher purposefully decides what kind of elements need to be part of the sample for the study, and that such selection is based on certain characteristics for which the researcher is looking.

Therefore, the researcher makes a deliberate choice to select the sampling method as informed about what the study intends to achieve. Therefore, Black African parents fit the purpose of this study as they fall within a particular criterion. That is, the parents, who were participants of the study, have attended school during apartheid years, and that they are self-identified as belonging to a Black African middle class. Furthermore, purposive sampling works closely with convenience sampling. Convenience sampling is choosing a sample that is best or appropriate for the researcher without necessarily

having to go out of his or her way. In other words, the researcher takes advantage of what is readily available at his or her disposal (see Chapter 1). For instance, I met Black African parents, the participants of this study, at the school where I work as they regularly came to attend schooling activities such as parents' meetings and the annual prize-giving ceremony where the top performing learners are rewarded. Moreover, the parents were selected on the basis of their willingness to participate in the study. Therefore, for the purpose of this study, I adopted both convenience sampling and purposive sampling.

Unlike the quantitative approach, the qualitative research sampling process is "less structured and that there are no set rules for sample sizes" (De Vos, 2005). In other words, the sample size becomes more dependent or determined by the kind of study being conducted, thus providing the researcher the opportunity to select a sample size based on what the study intends to achieve. According to Maree (2007), in qualitative research, sampling is not only limited but is also flexible in that it allows the researcher to engage with the data until it is exhausted in terms of not having any new emerging themes from the data, hence data saturation.

For the purpose of this study I selected a sample of ten (10) participants. The parents have children at the school where I work, and it happens to be one of the so-called historic schools in the province of KwaZulu-Natal – see Chapter 1. Firstly, I identified the participants of this study through their children (learners), and after the school principal granted me permission, I went ahead to request from the learners the contact details of their parents. However, this was to ensure that I could begin to establish a sound and effective relationship with the parents while at the same time maintaining them as potential participants for this study. My initial contact with them, through mobile phone, was mainly to introduce myself as an educator at the school of their children and that I would highly appreciate if I could see them when they come to attend the annual functions at school such as the parents' day and the prize giving ceremony. Nevertheless, I was amused when most of them agreed to meet me when they came to school, as this would help build an effective relationship between myself and the potential participants. It is important to highlight that at first, I took advantage of the existing relationship between myself and the learners after the school principal gave me permission to request the participants' contact details through learners.

However, after I secured the contact details of parents my engagement with the learners as far as this study is concerned ceased, as earnestly I turned my focus on the parents who are the subjects of investigation. Consequently, from this point onwards the study has nothing to do with the school in that I continued to relate with the participants of the study in their own capacity as parents. The ten parents who constituted the sample size for this study are of middle class and self-identified as Blacks (see Chapter 1 for more details). The study adopted semi-structured interviews as a tool for data gathering (see appendix: C).

4.8 Data generation

The data collection for this study was based on a qualitative approach. As previously indicated, qualitative research is more concerned with detailed and in-depth descriptions of data (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011). Narrative inquiry, is a sub-sect of qualitative research designs in which stories are used to describe human action (Goodson & Gill, 2011). Therefore, one of the common ways of data generation used by researchers in narrative inquiry is the interviewing process (Manson, 2002; and Punch, 2005) where participants freely express themselves about their lived experiences through narrated stories. The primary goal of interviews in a qualitative research is to gain from participants the most relevant information as best as possible. Often researchers choose qualitative interviewing based on its ontological position, which asserts that “people’s knowledge, views, understanding, interpretations, experiences, and interactions are meaningful properties of the social reality which research questions are designed to answer” (Manson, 2002, p. 63).

Furthermore, apart from ontological assumptions, researchers also choose the interviewing process based on epistemological position, which posits that in order to generate a meaningful data the researcher needs to effectively interact with the participants of the study (Manson, 2002). Such an interaction allows the researcher to inquisitively listen and ask relevant questions whenever necessary, moreover allows the researcher not only to analyse participants’ data but also to attach meaning to it (Manson, 2002). It is in this context that Punch (2005) pointed out that the interview

process is “a good way of accessing people’s perceptions, meanings ... and construction of reality” (p. 168).

Apart from the interviews, narrative researchers use other methods for data collection such as field notes of shared experiences, journal records, storytelling, photographs and archival documents (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990; Creswell, 2012 and Riesman, 2008). I also made use of documents such as newspaper articles and archive documents. The two newspaper articles, like the photographs, were displayed during the interviews with the participants. The participants had a brief scanning over the newspaper articles. The articles were from *The Natal Mercury* of 26 June 1976 and, *The Natal Mercury* of 7 February 1985 respectively (see appendix F). The archive documents were used in the literature review. This was meant to shed light on the phenomenon under study – the Black African parents. Moreover, I made use of photographs to engage with the participants in order to trigger their memories, thus beginning to travel down memory lane. With the emergence of narrative inquiry as a research method it also gave rise to a new form of conducting interviews in social sciences. This means, through active participation between the researcher and the interviewee an active collaboration in the process of meaning construction and understanding of narratives is established. According to (Riessman, 2008) “the goal in narrative interviewing is to generate detailed accounts rather than brief answers or general statements” (p.23). As a result, this encouraged the interviewees, the Black African parents, to furnish me, as the researcher, with more relevant information of which it would not have been possible to access in close-ended form of interviews.

To understand the narratives of Black African parents as they relate to school history in both apartheid and post-apartheid contexts, I adopted semi-structured interviews as a method of data generation. According to Hesse-Biber & Leavy (2011) semi-structured interviews are of great benefit for a researcher in that they allow participants to freely express themselves on issues of importance to them without necessarily being interrupted. That is, as participants express themselves, they end up providing relevant information that the researcher might not have expected (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011), thus allowing the conversation to “develop while at the same time exploring new topics that are relevant to the interviewee” (p.102). That is, semi-

structured interviews are a fitting method as they are based in a kind of a conversation or discursive format. According to (Bold, 2011):

Semi-structured interviews usually have a set of questions that guide the interview rather than dictate its direction. Some core questions enable the interviewer to maintain focus, while allowing the flexibility to ask further questions to clarify points raised by the interviewee. Thus, some analysis and interpretation begins as the interview progresses, with the interviewer making decisions about the content and nature of interview as it progresses (p.65).

This highlights the collaborative approach that exists in narrative inquiry between the researcher and the interviewee. It is important to note that apart from the interviews, narrative researchers use other methods for data collection such as field notes of shared experiences, journal records, storytelling, photographs and archival documents (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990; Creswell, 2012; Riessman, 2008). Apart from semi-structured interviews I also used observations and pictures to stimulate the participants' memory with regards to the schooling and school history experiences.

4.10 Data analysis methods

Data analysis in a qualitative research is both an ongoing and iterative process (Bertram & Christiansen, 2014). It is ongoing and iterative because the researcher is ever in back and forth movements as he or she deeply reflects and analyses the data. As a result, in many occasions the researcher is compelled to go back either to consult the field notes for clarity or even to consult with the participants of the study for more information and clarity on the phenomenon under study. Based on this, on several occasions, I had to return and meet with my participants for two main reasons: firstly after data was transcribed I read it carefully and in the process I realised a need to go back to my participants in order for them to furnish me with more relevant data where it was necessary and also to verify with them if the transcription was a true reflection of what they had said during the interviews. Secondly, after I compiled the participants' stories or narratives, I went to see them again to verify if the stories were a correct reflection of what they had said in the interviews. During these iterative exercises in some instances they added more information after reading the compiled stories; also others corrected where they did not agree it was correct representation of their facts. It is in this context that Hesse-Biber & Leavy (2011) pointed out that "transcribing data

is iterative and engages the researcher in the process of deep listening, analysis, and interpretation” (p. 304). This suggests that the whole exercise from transcription to analysis entails that the researcher is actively involved and immersed with the data.

It is also important to note that since qualitative research deals with a huge amount of data it is therefore imperative for the researcher to devise strategies as to how to effectively manage the collected data. As part of the initial analysis qualitative researchers firstly are engaged in data reduction throughout the research process (Bertram & Christiansen, 2014). In other words, the researcher is in full control in terms of determining what kind of data is needed and he or she does so as guided by the research questions. Therefore, “data reduction involves organising data into codes or questions and then looking for patterns or relationships between these categories” (p. 116). This process is known as initial coding and is more suitable in qualitative research that so often deals with a huge amount of data which for instance is generated from interviews (Saldana, 2009). Therefore, the main purpose of initial coding is to equip the researcher “with analytic leads for further exploration and see the direction in which the study is taking” (Saldana, 2009, p. 81).

In this initial stage of data analysis, I employed an open coding technique. I began by going through the data I collected from interviews with the participants. Through the coding technique, as a researcher I endeavoured to condense the transcribed data into themes or categories. After I read and analysed the transcribed data, I assigned relevant colour labels or codes on the emerging themes or concepts. According to Ezzy (2002) open-coding is “a way to generate an emergent set of categories and their properties” (p. 88). Similarly, Strauss and Corbin (1990) view open coding as “the part of analysis that pertains specifically to naming and categorizing of phenomena through close examination of data” (p. 62). It is through such initial qualitative data analysis that I was able to compile the narratives of the participants of this study. According to (Ezzy, 2002, and Hesse-Biber & Leavey, 2011) the entire process of coding has its pros and cons. The advantage of open coding is that it offers the researcher the opportunity to group together the emerging categories in terms of similarities and differences for an effective analysis (Ezzy, 2002; and Khandakar, 2009). On the other hand, one of the disadvantages of open coding is that is time consuming and tedious work (Ezzy, 2002, and Khandakar, 2009).

Moreover, the process of data analysis will be dealt with in Chapter 6 when I enter the second phase of analysis of the narratives of the participants using narrative analysis. Narrative analysis, focusses its efforts in trying to understand people's stories as well as their life experiences (Clandinin, 2013), in a given period or context. Therefore, it is suitable methodology in that it will help me to understand the narratives or stories of Black African parents and how they relate to school history in both apartheid and post-apartheid eras in South Africa.

4.11 Trustworthiness considerations

Since qualitative research focuses on meaning that individuals attach to their experiences and different situations in life (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011), it also allows them to view or understand a given phenomenon differently. In other words, this highlights the subjective nature of qualitative approach and where the researcher needs to follow different criteria or benchmarks which serve to determine the trustworthiness of the study. According to Maree (2007) trustworthiness "refers to the way in which the inquirer is able to persuade the audience that the findings in the study are worthy paying attention to and that the research is of high quality" (p. 299). In order to ensure credibility or trustworthiness of this study I made use of interviews which furnished me with "in-depth understanding of a phenomenon" under study (Du Plooy-Cilliers et al., 2014, p. 253) coupled with my personal observations. However, during the transcription process I had on several occasions to return and consult with my participants either for clarity on certain issues or for additional relevant information. It is in this context that Du Plooy-Cilliers et al., (2014) pointed out that "credibility is increased when the researcher spends long periods of time with the participants in order to understand them better and gain insight into their lives" (p. 258). It is important to note that after data was transcribed and narratives of participants were compiled, I then returned to them in order to verify if I captured their moments correctly, thus giving adequate feedback. Such a process also enhanced the credibility and trustworthiness of the research.

As a way of ensuring trustworthiness and credibility of the study I aligned it with an appropriate paradigm that guided me to conduct the study within an acceptable theoretical framework. Another way to enhance trustworthiness of the study was my

regular participation in the PhD Cohort where I presented my work before academic experts in different fields. In the cohort meetings I was critically evaluated and given adequate guidance whenever necessary which enhanced the trustworthiness of the study.

4.12 Ethical considerations

Like in any profession that is guided by a set of rules known as code of conduct with the aim to set the standard thus instilling a sense of integrity and professionalism, it is the case with social research where the researcher must abide and comply with certain ethical considerations (Punch, 2005). This is mainly because social research involves people and that a degree of integrity and trust amongst participants of the study is of paramount importance and therefore needs to be established. In other words, ethical considerations in research form an integral part of moral and professional code of conduct for researchers (Du Plooy-Cilliers et al., 2014). For instance, it is in this context that Punch (2005) proclaims that “some qualitative research deal with the most sensitive, intimate and innermost matters in people’s lives, and ethical issues inevitably accompany the collection of such information” (p. 277).

This suggests that participants need to be informed beforehand about the study they are involved in, and for this to take place participants have firstly to freely accept to take part in the study. This is precisely what I did in my initial contacts with parents before I could begin with the data collection. Moreover, by means of a letter of consent from the university participants are further assured about their safety and integrity as the letter highlights what “is required of them during their participation in terms of their identity and how results will be used” (Du Plooy-Cilliers et al., 2014, p. 264). Based on this, I followed ethical procedures when first I was issued with the ethical clearance by the university thus giving me the green light to proceed with data collection with the participants. It is important to note that the university ethical clearance (*Protocol reference number: HSS/0119/016D, appendix no.*) that I was issued with serves as a guide which ensures that both the integrity and reputation of the university remain intact.

4.13 Conclusion

The purpose of my study was to investigate the narratives of Black African parents as they relate to school history in both the apartheid and the post-apartheid contexts. In order to do this, it was imperative that I created an effective strategy that would guide me in the process of research thereby helping to answer the research questions of this study. Since the main aim of the study was to investigate the narratives of the Black African parents, it presupposes that individuals' life experiences evolve within a given time and space which influence their narratives. In order to best understand and interpret such narratives I adopted phenomenological research design. This design was complimented by the qualitative approach that I also adopted for the study. Qualitative research seeks to exploring and understand the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to social or human problems (Creswell, 2009), as well as attempting to understand the people's experiences (Bradley, 1993). Therefore, the methodology that I adopted for the study is Narrative Inquiry which focusses mainly on people's lived experiences within a particular historical and political context.

I chose purposive sampling to select the sample of ten participants for this study. Data was generated through semi-structured interviews which allowed the participants to freely express themselves about their experiences of schooling and school history. The data generated from the interviews was then transcribed into narratives of the participants. For the initial stage of analysis, I employed an open coding technique which allowed me to condense the transcribed data into themes or categories by assigning relevant colour labels or codes on the emerging themes or concepts. Also, I employed the same technique of coding in the analysis of the narratives of the participants as part of the second level of analysis. It is important to note that, the second level of analysis led to the emergence of the narratives that Black African parents have about their schooling and school history experiences in both apartheid and post-apartheid South Africa. In the next chapter, I move on to present the ten personal narratives of Black African parents who are the participants of this study.

CHAPTER 5

PERSONAL NARRATIVES OF BLACK AFRICAN PARENTS

Narrative is present in myth, legend, fable, novella, epic, history...Narrative is present in every age, in every place, in every society; it begins with the very history of mankind (sic) and nowhere is or has been a place without narrative...It is simply life itself", Barthes as quoted in (Riessman, 2008, p.2).

5.1 Introduction

This chapter displays the ten narratives from the ten participants who took part in the study. The narratives were compiled from the transcribed data (interviews) with the participants. The compilation of the narratives was possible after the initial data coding (open coding) was conducted. The second phase of analysis will be based on the narratives themselves, where narrative analysis will be applied (see Chapter 4 on methodology). In the second phase of the analysis of the participants' narratives I also employed open coding method. During the reading stage of the narratives of the participants, I cautiously highlighted sections of the data from the stories which I considered relevant for analysis. The highlighted data were assigned particular colour codes or labels, which were summarised and then assigned descriptive concepts of the emerging themes. Similar themes were assigned same colour codes and grouped together in categories in order to ensure effective analysis of the personal narratives of the participants. Therefore, the consolidated themes formed the basis of discussion of findings in Chapter 6. Note that the names used in the narratives are pseudonyms and this was mainly done to ensure the protection of the participants' identities. All the stories follow similar patterns and they begin with a brief summation of the main points of the stories. Each story starts on a new page. The storied narratives presented below reflect the schooling and school history experiences of the participants of this study. This chapter is organised as follows: Fana's story; Londeka's story; Madoda's story; Menzi's story; Nomakhosi's story; Phiwe's story; Sindi's story; Thabo's story;

Themba's story and Thembeke's story. The chapter closes with a comprehensive conclusion thereby setting the scene for the next chapter.

5.2 Fana's story

History begins with the arrival of the White settlers

Fana was born in Manguzi, Northern KwaZulu-Natal, former KwaZulu homeland, to poor peasant parents. As a young boy he spent time looking after the cattle of his neighbour in order to save some money to go to school. Since his parents could not send him to school he eventually decided on his own that he needed to go to school when he was 13 years old. However, his main ambition when he went to school was to learn to read and speak English so that he could stop relying on people to explain to him about written messages or information. Though he was advanced in age when he first set foot at school, there were other learners who were older than him in the classroom. His decision to go to school has paid dividends in that he has worked in different media houses as a journalist before he could take the position as a Media Liaison in one of the Government Departments.

Part 1: Fana as a learner

Background: schooling experience

Although growing up in a poverty-stricken environment in the former KwaZulu Homeland, Fana recalled how his difficult upbringing could not deter his resolve to improve his life and that of his family for the better. He reminisced that he had been circumstantially forced to look after his neighbour's cattle in order to save some money to go to school. Born and bred in Manguze, Fana reminisced that his parents were poor peasants and they did not have money to send him to school. As a result, the difficult situation at home led him to begin losing hope of ever going to school in his lifetime.

However, the determined and focused young shepherd pointed out that he took it upon himself to go to school at all costs which was not his parents' decision. "I consider myself very old because I started going to school when I was 13 and when I was doing standard 5 I was 18 years old", he reminisced. Furthermore, despite his advanced age still in primary school, he recalled that there were a few other learners older than him in the classroom. In addition, he also highlighted that discipline was enforced at school which was evidenced by the fact that even the grown-up learners respected their teachers and they never retaliated in case of corporal punishment. Fana stated that

“you would have pupils who were over 20 years of age and they would be taught by teachers who were of their age but the level of respect was amazing”.

Speaking about corporal punishment at school he recollected that it was not only administered for ill-behaved learners, but it was also carried out for underperforming learners and also to curb absenteeism at school. He explained that he was one of the regular victims of corporal punishment because every Tuesday he was compelled to take the cattle for dip and vaccination and this meant that he had to be absent from school and that most of the time he missed tests. He recalled that when he reported back to school on the following day he would get punished for having been absent from school.

The well-spoken father of two, reminisced that his initial ambition for going to school was primarily to learn to read and speak English, thus ending the embarrassing dependency of relying on people to read and explain things for him. Furthermore, he also indicated that one of the common aspects associated with Bantu Education during his school days was the lack of career guidance and exposure for Black learners in various fields of interest. He recalled that professions for Black Africans were limited in that they could only become nurses, teachers or join the police service. He reminisced that the lack of exposure and awareness in terms of careers amongst Black African learners conditioned him to only think about learning to read and speak English if he happened to go to school.

Although he attended a mission school which provided somewhat better education in relation to public schools in the area, he reminisced that his school also faced great challenges as evidenced by the lack of adequate infrastructure and resources such as enough classrooms and stationery respectively. Besides, he recalled that the school had a shortage of qualified teaching staff though they had a few missionaries who taught at the school. He emphasised that such a critical shortage of classrooms resulted in different grades converging into a single classroom where they were taught the same content regardless of their grades. He highlighted that “we were being examined on the same things using the same textbooks and writing the same tests, but different grades”.

Fana's experience of school history

Fana recollected that the history that they learnt at school was very selective in terms of its content. As a result, he added, it did not reflect a true picture of the South African history as we know it today. He highlighted that the content was aimed at advancing the apartheid agenda in establishing a subservient Black society through education. Also, he pointed out that the history books put emphasis on content that celebrated White settlers' history such as the Great Trek, Anglo-Boer war as well as European history. In all this, he reminisced that Black African people were depicted negatively whereas the Whites were always viewed as heroes. Furthermore, he recollected that history back then was full of distortions and misinformation in that they were taught that South African history began with the arrival of the White settlers and Jan Van Riebeeck. On the other hand, he remembered that there were many omissions when it came to African content. For example, he reiterated that the victory of King Cetshwayo over the British was never mentioned in history lessons. He continued, by saying however, the victory of the Boers over Dingane at the battle of Ncome or Blood River was viewed as a heroic event in history lessons.

Fana's views of school history

While his daughter was not doing history at school, Fana had a generally positive view of history as a subject. He highlighted that history was an important and relevant subject in society and that every child or learner needed to know history. However, he pointed out that it was unfortunate that soon after the democratic dispensation in South Africa history was unceremoniously relegated to the periphery as an irrelevant subject. Since then, he recalled, learners were encouraged to take mathematics and science subjects at the expense of subjects such as history. He also reminisced that he had been a victim of such discouragement at school. "I remember that I chose history when I was in grade 8 but when I was in grade 11 one of my teachers persuaded me to do mathematics and science", he reiterated. He also pointed out that the common perception that history was irrelevant was further being promoted by government policies which for instance sought to promote mathematics and science subjects. He added that such subjects were linked to status and better paying jobs, which was what many Black African parents, including himself, wanted for their children since they had been disadvantaged themselves.

Part 2: Fana's parents involvement in his education

The role of Fana's parents in his education

Speaking about the role of his parents in his schooling journey Fana recalled how difficult it was growing up in an underprivileged family. He emphasised that his parents were poor peasants who could not afford to send him to school. As a result, he reminisced, his hopes of attending school were dwindling slowly but surely. His parents' lack of support towards his schooling was evidenced by the fact that Fana could only begin his schooling journey when he was already 13 years old.

Part 3: Fana as parent today

Fana as a parent and subject choice for his child

Fana admitted that having been brought up in an underprivileged family led him to advise his child to consider taking certain subjects such as mathematics at school for her to be able to pursue either medicine or quantity Surveyor courses. He further explained that his advice was based on the premise that such professions provided better remuneration than pursuing a career in history for instance. However, he further explained that following his daughter's poor performance in mathematics he was advised by the school to allow her to drop mathematics if he wanted her to complete matric. He admitted that, "we were circumstantial forced to advise her the way we did. We could not advise her to take history because we thought if she had the science stream she would stand a better chance for a better paying career".

Meanwhile, Fana highlighted that though growing up in an underprivileged background of poverty could not deter his resolve to improve his life and that of his family. He reminisced that, unlike his shepherd peers who did not have the opportunity to go to school, he had achieved much in his life. He pointed out that his life began to change when he worked as a journalist for various publications before he could take a position in one of the government's departments as media liaison officer.

5.3 Londeka's story

History was never made relevant for me

Like many of her peers Londeka during her first years of schooling did not have any purpose for going to school, but she just followed others as they went to school too. Growing up in Clermont Township on the outskirts of Pinetown, life was not that easy for young Londeka as her unemployed father was hardly supportive in her schooling journey. Because of lack of opportunities for Black African learners during the apartheid years Londeka did not have any idea what kind of profession she wanted to pursue after matric. However, such lack of awareness changed when she was in standard 9 after she went to the then Mangosuthu Technicon as part of her school excursion. For the very first time she was exposed to different careers that one could pursue after matric. As a result she wanted to become a dietitian after the insightful career exposure and guidance. However, after she completed matric Londeka following the advice of her father that dietitian was a career of White people she then went to study at the University of Zululand where she specialised in English and drama. After she graduated, she secured a teaching position at her former school, Dlamvuzo High in Ngwelezane. Today, Londeka works as a teacher at a school in the Pinetown area where she teaches English and life orientation.

Part 1: Londeka as a learner

Background: schooling experience

Although her school days were normal ones, growing up in a humble family in Clermont Township during the apartheid era on the outskirts of Pinetown, Londeka recollected how as a learner back then she had to congregate with her peers daily in an overcrowded classroom for lessons. She reminisced that her first-hand schooling experiences were spent at Umuzi Omusha Primary in Clermont. Though young, she recalled that her school did not have enough school equipment such as desks and benches, and such a situation required some learners to sit on the floor during lessons. She also highlighted that these challenging conditions did not instil in her the necessary awareness about the role and purpose of schooling during the first years of her educational journey.

Londeka pondered that the level of noise in the classroom was most of the time excruciating, thus making it difficult to follow the teacher's instructions in class.

Moreover, she highlighted that because of lack of stationery at the school they were compelled as learners to write their schoolwork on slates provided by the school. Furthermore, she said the school work was often done without a clear understanding of what was happening in class. For instance, she stated that “we used to write on slates, when you see the other one writing you also write and when they wipe you also do the same without necessarily following instructions”. She also said that the school syllabus at the time did not stimulate interest or sense of direction amongst Black African learners as far as schooling was concerned.

On this note, Londeka remembered that, among many other things, they were taught Home-Economics at school. Looking back today as an adult, she reminisced that subjects such as Home Economics were designed solely to direct Black African learners into household tasks and family chores rather than educating a Black African child to become an intellectual and a learned citizen. Moreover, the reflective Londeka remembered that one of the main challenges she experienced as a learner back then was lack of career guidance and exposure at school. This, she said, impacted negatively on her and on many of her peers in that they lacked a sense of direction and awareness about the different careers that one could consider pursuing at tertiary level.

Moreover, she recollected that after her father found employment at Ulundi government offices her family relocated to Ngwelezane in Empangeni where she attended high school. In addition, she recalled how her standard 9 school excursion to the then Mangosuthu Technicon was a life changing experience in terms of career awareness and exposure. As a result of such exposure, she explained that she became for the first time aware of possible careers to follow after matric. For instance, she pointed out that she wanted to become a dietitian even though she did not know what it was all about, but she just liked the name. She reminisced that after she completed matric her father did not allow her to pursue her dietetics career because he told her that it was a career for White people. Her father cited, she said, that being a Black person it would be difficult for her to get employment and therefore encouraged her to consider studying towards teaching at the University of Zululand, where she specialised in English and Drama. Having obtained her teaching qualification Londeka

thereafter secured a teaching position at her former school, Dlamvuzo High in Empangeni.

Londeka's experience of school history

Speaking about her experience of history at school, Londeka recollected that there was not much South African history taught to them. For instance, she remembered among many other things, that figures such as Shaka Zulu, the leader of the Zulu nation, was always depicted in history books as a cruel leader. However, apart from the figure of Shaka Zulu, she also reminisced about learning of Jan Van Riebeeck as the Great Trek event that marked the movement of the Afrikaner nation from the Cape to the interior of the country. In all this, the reflective Londeka also remembered how they were required to memorise some of the dates regarded as important as far as history of White settlers was concerned and recalled that the focus was mainly on the World War 1, Word War 2, French Revolution and Napoleon Bonaparte. However, she admitted that she did not develop interest in and love for history partly because her teacher did not make the subject interesting and relevant to her.

Londeka's views of school history

Although her son was not doing history at school, Londeka highlighted that the current history syllabus was much improved in that it has been given its recognition and relevance for the current political landscape in the country. For instance, she reiterated that there was much that children could “learn now ... there are many things that they need to know, to understand where they came from”. On a positive note, Londeka also expressed that parents, including herself, ought to allow their children to choose subjects for themselves based on their ability, and their dream careers, thus helping them find happiness and fulfilment in whatever they do. Moreover, while she did not find history an important subject during her school days, she admitted that she was not in support of the current trend of dubbing certain subjects more relevant (e.g. mathematics and physical science) than others such as history. She explained that such a narrow-minded approach was one of the reasons for high failure and drop-out rates in mathematics and science subjects in our schools.

Part 2: Londeka's parents involvement in her education

The role of Londeka's parents in her education

As she came from a poor background, the reflective Londeka reminisced that at first her father was not very supportive in her education as he did not show much interest and involvement in her first years of schooling. Looking back as an adult today, she reminisced that such lack of support could have been associated with the fact that her father, when she was still in primary school, was himself still a young man of about 24 years at the time. Reflecting now on her father's attitude towards her schooling back then, Londeka highlighted that her father did not necessarily understand the working relationship or cooperation between parents and the school, hence he did not see the need to talk to his daughter's teachers when necessary.

On this note, Londeka vividly recalled that while she was still in primary school she used to leave school and go home during break time as she thought it was time to go home. However, she reiterated that upon arriving home her father would simply accompany her back as far as the school gate, without seeking to see and talk to her teacher about her early going home. Furthermore, she reminisced that even if she had done well at school, she did not feel encouraged by her father and family. She further pointed out that, looking back now as an adult, this partly contributed to her initial lack of purpose and of awareness about the role and importance of schooling.

However, Londeka also recalled that, she was in high school when her father eventually got employed at the Ulundi government offices. In retrospect, she recollected that he was now more supportive and involved in her schooling as he used to buy her books and the Jive Youth magazine in order to improve her English and vocabulary. She reiterated that, "I think the sudden involvement in my education had to with him being more responsible and mature at that stage of his life". Moreover, she remembered that he advised her to consider studying the Bachelor of Pedagogics (BPaed) at the University of Zululand where she specialised in English and drama.

Part 3: Londeka as a parent today

Londeka as a parent and subject choice for her child

As a parent today Londeka admitted having played a role in the selection of her son's subjects. She further stated that at first her son had selected among his subjects mathematics and accounting as part of the commerce stream. But unfortunately, following her son's poor results in these subjects she was left without choice but to encourage him to drop mathematics and accounting in favour of mathematical literacy and business studies. However, Londeka admitted that such a change of stance was only possible after her son's teacher contacted her and discussed her son's performance at school. She further highlighted that it was through such cooperation between the school and her that she became more enlightened about the need to let children follow their passion and abilities in the subject choice. On this note, Londeka categorically stated that "My view is that children need to be encouraged to do any subject they are comfortable with, including history, provided that they are in line with what they want to become in future". She also added that, after the change of subjects to those he was much more comfortable with, her son was now coping and doing well. However, she frankly admitted that the initial selection of subjects for her son was done in view of the existing opportunities associated with these subjects as far as careers were concerned.

Meanwhile, even today Londeka continues to work as a teacher within the Pinetown area. Apart from English she also teaches life orientation to Grade 12 learners.

5.4 Madoda's story

African leaders as 'barbaric'

Madoda was born and bred in QwaQwa in the Free State, and currently works as a teacher in the Pinetown area. He worked for many years as a teacher in QwaQwa before relocating to KwaZulu-Natal a few years ago. He said, because of lack of opportunities for Black Africans during the apartheid era, teaching was considered as one of the key professions amongst Black African people in his Monontsha village.

Part 1: Madoda as a learner

Background: schooling experience

Although he battled to remember his early school days, Madoda still recalls growing up as a young boy in the semi-urban QwaQwa – Sotho speaking Bantustan in the Eastern Free State. However, his early school years were challenging to recall as he found himself entangled between the past (apartheid) and the present (post-apartheid) experiences. For instance, he categorically stated, “to speak about school days it is difficult to recollect because you find yourself living in two worlds”. While he did not see the purpose of going to school at that time, he remembers that his illiterate parents encouraged him to go to school for him to be able to read and write. Madoda recalled that “each time my father came from clinic he would ask me to read for him the instructions on how to take his medication”. He also reminisced that mother tongue - Sotho language in his case - was used as a medium of instruction during his initial schooling years. Nonetheless, even today Madoda is doubtful whether this was helpful for his education. This was part of government's cultural emphasis on different ethnic groups in various homelands or Bantustans during the apartheid era. While he admitted that his parents encouraged him to go to school, nevertheless neither his parents nor other adults told him about the purpose and importance of schooling. For instance, he remembered that “I went to school not because there was a purpose but because I was told to go to school and no one told me what would happen to me when I went to school, for instance”. Therefore, the lack of purpose, motivation and understanding about the importance of schooling led to massive drop-outs of learners

in schools in his area, including some of his colleagues and neighbours. He recalled that some learners would literally run away from home, primarily because they did not want to go to school. The school drop-outs had a negative impact on the level of education of most Black African learners and their prospects in terms of career choices. As far as discipline was concerned, Madoda said they were subjected to severe corporal punishment and this contributed to the massive drop-outs of Black African learners from schools. However, looking back now as an adult, it is clear to him that his parents as well as adult members of his community lacked knowledge and awareness about the importance of schooling as he hardly received a proper guidance but was just told to go to school.

The softly-spoken Madoda reminisced that, as a young boy, his immediate ambitions were influenced by the environment in which he grew up. He said it was common for young men in his village to go and work in the mines which made him want to become a mine worker one day so that he would be able to help his poor parents. He also said in his Monontsha village there was a bus depot when he was growing up and that at a certain stage in his life, he had wanted to become a bus driver. Madoda pointed out that the limitation in career choices at the time was since they did not have career exposure or career guidance as learners.

Meanwhile, looking back now as an adult Madoda also admits that the apartheid schooling system impacted negatively on his education. With a recollected mind he stated that the apartheid system taught him to be submissive and to fear the White 'superiors'. For example, he said "I was taught not to talk when my seniors were talking, but I must listen and ... not question their decisions". This he, said conditioned him to conform to the rules and always be subservient to his seniors.

Madoda also remembered that growing up in the poverty-stricken QwaQwa homeland, it seemed normal for him to be poor because that was the only experience, he and other Black African children had. He said that, "there was nothing wrong back then because we did not know that other people would sit on a nice desk, and we thought that everybody had similar experience as ourselves". He continued that such 'normality' was evidenced by the sheer lack of adequate infrastructure, and lack of school materials such as books. Moreover, he also said learners were forced to

converge into one-classroom for lessons, adding that “we did not see anything wrong with the mud brick-school because that was the only experience we had”. Madoda remembers vividly that the government of that time did not do much to improve the condition of Black schools, but rather it became the responsibility of parents to ensure that Black schools in the homeland were maintained.

Madoda’s experience of school history

Speaking about school history at primary level, Madoda recalled that history was compulsory for everyone until standard 7 or grade 9 today. With a knowing smile on his face, he recalled that they were often forced to memorise certain quotations of prominent White leaders or historical figures such as Adolf Hitler. Moreover, they had also to memorise some dates deemed important in history for instance 1652 the arrival Jan Van Riebeeck in South Africa. This led Madoda to dislike history as he believed that history was a ‘torture’ which was all about memorising and without necessarily understanding its content. Additionally, he reminisced that the arrival of White settlers in South Africa led by Jan Van Riebeeck, was highly emphasised in history lessons. However, such emphasis he said was done without a proper understanding of what was exactly being said or taught in class.

At the secondary level, Madoda recalled that history content was divided into two main sections: African and European History. He said in the African section, the content studied focused mainly on the destructive conflicts that existed between various Black groups during the 1820s in the Southern Africa region. In other words, these violent wars of extermination, he said, were part of the Mfecane wars which were fought amongst African leaders and their followers, who were often deliberately misrepresented as murderers, heartless, cowards. For instance, he recalled that the image they had of King Shaka was that of being a cruel and heartless person, who always wanted to see ‘fresh blood on his spear’. Similarly, he said Moshoeshe of the Basotho was another figure who was also misrepresented. He was depicted as a coward as he always ran away and stayed on the mountain commonly known as Thaba Bosiu (mountain of the night). He said, “when attacked he would roll down the rocks against the enemy – that is how African leaders were depicted in history books, and the message conveyed was that there is nothing important that these African leaders came up with to contribute to our lives and society.” Above all, Madoda said they were also taught African migration how the Sotho moved from Free State area to

present day Lesotho; King Shaka Zulu and his Zulu kingdom; and how the Ndebele found themselves in today's Zimbabwe.

Madoda's views of school history

While Madoda did not like history as a subject at school, he is however quite aware of the positive aspects or benefits that history brought to some of his peers who did well in school. For instance, he said some of his peers became good orators, good in debates while at the same time they improved their confidence and self-esteem only because they were history learners. As a result, he said, most of his peers became successful in life: some became school principals and others government officials.

Soon after completing standard 7 Madoda proceeded to standard 8 or grade 10. He said it was here when they had the opportunity to choose subjects with which they were comfortable. He recollected that sometimes teachers still decided which subjects the learners should take. In his case Madoda said he chose commerce instead of history. His choice over history was despite the evidenced benefits that history had brought for some of his peers who did so well in school. Madoda also said that his choice of commerce over history was due to the negative attitude he had developed towards history as merely a memorising and rote learning subject which he hardly understood. Subsequently, this led him to dislike history and such dislike would influence him to discourage his children from considering history as a subject and a career choice.

Part 2: Madoda's parents involvement in his education

Madoda reminisced that his father was just a mere peasant and could not afford to send him to university, and that engineering and science related courses during the apartheid era were not meant for Black African children but were preserved for White children. In such a situation, he reminisced that a Black African child at the time could only become a teacher, a nurse, policeman, or a clerk. In addition, these were the common professions that existed for Black African people back then. Therefore, like many Black African children of his generation Madoda ended up going to a teacher's training college because this is what his parents could afford.

Part 3: Madoda as a parent today

Parental role and involvement in his children's schooling

As any other parent who wishes his or her children prosperity and well-being in the future, Madoda is adamant that he wants to see his children prosper in life thus being happy. However, for him such prosperity and happiness could only be attained by embracing mathematics and science subjects, as these are associated with a high probability of employment and distinguishable careers such as engineering, and accounting unlike a child, in his view, who has done history as a career. He explained that his position was informed by his life experience as a learner during the apartheid era where opportunities were almost non-existent for a Black African child. Moreover, subjects such as mathematics and science were reserved for White children as Blacks were made to believe that these were subjects that were too difficult for them. As a result, Madoda pointed out that if his children were to taste prosperity and a good life (future) they should forget considering history as a possible career as this would take them nowhere, because it offers limited options in life.

Madoda admitted having encouraged his children to select the subjects that they were doing, over history. He emphasised that this was based on his schooling experience of lack of opportunities back then, and on the other hand the present government's influence in highlighting the importance of certain subjects e.g. mathematics and science over other subjects such as history, as necessary for the country's economy and development. Madoda did not only see these subjects as associated with status and high probability of employment, but he was also convinced that they were the guarantor of a better life, prosperity and happiness for his children.

Also, Madoda reminisced that while teachers had close observation and monitoring over children's performance at school, he said he as a parent had the final decision over the future of his children as far as subject choices were concerned. He plainly stated that, "my concern was to see if the teachers or the school did not impose on my children subjects that would not match with the advice that I had given to my children in view of the careers after matric".

Meanwhile, he said he was confident with his children following the science stream subjects per his advice as this would help them achieve what he could not in his school

days because of the lack of opportunities as the National Party government did not favour of Black African majority. He added that because of the existing opportunities today as far as education is concerned, he is adamant that they will make him proud by achieving what he failed to achieve himself back then as a learner. For instance, Madoda said, “I feel now that my children could have a taste of the side that I never had, the opportunities that I never dreamt of”.

However, as a parent today Madoda said he is aware that at times his past experiences seems to override or supersede the interests and freedom of choice of his children as he finds himself encouraging his children to follow the science stream subjects for the sake of a possible bright future and status. He pointed out that, “what I teach my children is what I know, and I will never teach them what I don’t know. So, I will push them to take advantage of the opportunities available for their benefit and well-being in future” and this clearly excludes history as a subject.

5.5 Menzi's story

History is one the best subjects

Menzi was born and bred in High Flats – St Faith Mission – in the South Coast. As a young boy he always wanted to be a teacher mainly because of the influence that his parents had on him – they were also teachers. However, his father encouraged him to go to the University of Zululand at the time because his father never had the opportunity to go to the university himself. Soon after obtaining his teaching qualifications Menzi secured a teaching position at eSikhawini near Richards Bay where he taught for six years (1984-1990) before furthering his studies overseas. Today Menzi is a businessman in the Durban region.

Part 1: Menzi as a learner

Background: schooling experience

Despite having been a product of the Bantu Education System during the apartheid years, Menzi recollected how fortunate he was for having had the opportunity to study in catholic schools. As a young boy growing up in High Flats, St Faith Mission, in the South Coast Menzi remembered how the nuns inculcated in him a sense of discipline and the spirit of working hard at school, thus turning him into an independent thinker.

The eloquently spoken Menzi recalled that he was fortunate enough to have attended catholic schools before he went to the University of Zululand which at the time was reserved for Zulu speakers as part of the Homeland system under apartheid. He explained that his school days took place at the height of the apartheid regime that offered them the Bantu Education System. He recalled that the catholic schools where he attended namely; St Mary's Seminary Ixopo and St Francis College, offered him together with his peers a holistic quality education despite having been the era of the Bantu Education system that systematically dispensed a substandard form of education to Black African majority in the country. He reiterated that the education he received went beyond academic excellence in that they were also encouraged to do manual work such as gardening and cleaning the school environment.

Menzi the father of three recalled that most of his teachers were catholic nuns and priests, and he said they were highly committed to their work. He echoed that his teachers always encouraged learners to remain focussed on their studies in order to

achieve academic excellence and thus be a guarantor of bright future for themselves as Black children. For instance, he recalled that “the teachers made you play to your strength and we learnt to be independent as we were encouraged to do things on our own”. He vividly reminisced that the school environment in Mariannhill was very serious and predominantly quiet, suggesting a high level of discipline and focus. On this note, he emphasised that “the moment you walked into those premises, you knew that you were in a catholic school”. For instance, he further explained that prayer before and after each day of schooling ignited in them a sense of purpose and focus on their school work.

Meanwhile, the outspoken Menzi also remembered that his school at Mariannhill was better off than the township schools which were poorly managed and often with lack of resources and not enough teachers. His school however, he said, apart from having had qualified and dedicated nuns who taught at the school, also had adequate infrastructure with a library and laboratory. On this note, he reiterated that the environment was conducive for teaching and learning and hence the nuns at the school always reminded them about being excellent in their schoolwork. He reminisced that such an inspiration from his teachers led to positive competition at school as they were committed to out-smarting each other during tests. Furthermore, he explained that his school was strict to the extent at the time they did not just take any learner, but they carefully scrutinised the intake of learners, to maintain the good reputation of the school as far as excellence is concerned.

Menzi’s experience of school history

Menzi highlighted that he did history at school and that he used to excel since history was one of his favourite subjects. However, he recalled that during his school days, history was part of social studies which was a combination of history and geography. Nevertheless, in the history section he remembered that they studied about traditional leaders, the Homeland system, and the Mfecane period. Also, he said, they were taught about the arrival of the white settlers and Jan Van Riebeeck as well as the European history. He recalled that in history books Black Africans were negatively depicted as people who always fought and killed each other. For instance, he explained “we always saw some half-naked barbaric natives running around with shields and spears. That’s the image we had about Africans”. Moreover, he further

recollected that “the white people were often depicted as heroes”. However, he added that despite such a syllabus there was no other way but to learn and accept the prescribed content.

Menzi’s view of school history

The well-spoken former teacher and now a businessman painted a positive image of the role of history in society. He firmly stated that history was indispensable in society and that it helped to instil a sense of national identity and pride amongst people, thus shaping their world-view. Meanwhile, while he was aware of the inferior status associated with the subject in terms remuneration and status in society he maintained that it was one of the best subjects that everyone needed to do regardless of one’s career orientation. He firmly pointed out that “history provides us with lessons that we have got to learn as we move into the future. If you don’t know where you come from, you don’t know where you are going”. He further explained that because of the unprecedented government’s focus on mathematics and other science subjects at the start of the new dispensation in the country, he said he had seen history being relegated to the periphery. Nevertheless, he added that “it is only now that the government has introduced a syllabus that accords history its rightful place”.

Part 2: Menzi’s parents involvement in his education

The role of Menzi’s father in his education

Apart from his teachers – the religious nuns and priests – Menzi firmly stressed that his parents encouraged him to embrace schooling with a positive mind. He explained that his father wanted him to go to university only because his father never went to the university during his own school days. Meanwhile, he also reiterated that his parents encouraged and inspired him to become a teacher, since they were also teachers. He recalled despite lack of opportunities for Black African children at the time, his parents ensured that he went to university where he specialised in history and geography. He pointed out that after he obtained his teaching qualifications from the university he began working as a history teacher between 1984 -1990 at eSikhawini, a Black township near Richards Bay. On a positive note, Menzi highlighted that history as a subject helped him achieve his ambitions. He said apart from becoming a teacher it

also helped him understand much better what was happening politically in the country at the time.

Part 3: Menzi as a parent today

Menzi as a parent and subject choice for his child

Menzi firmly stated that though his daughter was doing history at school, she was following the science stream. He explained that he had allowed her to take history because he wanted her to understand the country as well as global issues but without her having to pursue a career in history. Meanwhile, Menzi reiterated that his daughter had wanted to pursue a teaching career after matric but he did not allow her to follow her dream on the grounds that she comes from a family of teachers and therefore she needed to do something different. Subsequently, he explained that he advised her in view of the existing opportunities to consider Civil Engineering or medicine as a career because this would guarantee her a better future and happiness in life.

5.6 Nomakhosi's story

Africans as unreliable thinking beings

Nomakhosi, was born in Pietermaritzburg, at Imbali Township. As a young girl she had aspired to pursue legal studies in order to become a magistrate or a court interpreter. Following the death of her father in 1971, young Nomakhosi's education became the responsibility of the Mariannhill religious nuns who accommodated her in their orphanage, St. Vincent's Children's Home. However, she managed to go to Mariannhill after her late father's friend, who happened to be a White catholic priest and missionary, organised with the nuns to help in educating her. But the nuns told her that they were only prepared to pay for her education until matric level. This persuaded Nomakhosi to consider training as a teacher because her sickly and unemployed mother was not in position to send her to the university for her to pursue her dream career in legal studies. After her training she began working as a teacher in 1988 till to date.

Part 1 Nomakhosi as learner

Background: schooling experience

Although her father was supportive, Nomakhosi recalled it was at the height of the apartheid era when her father died in 1971 when she was in standard 2. Her father was a teacher who had been educated by White missionaries at the time. Such tragic loss, she reminisced, almost ended her embryonic schooling journey since her sick and unemployed mother was not able to finance her education. Nomakhosi who was brought up in Imbali Township outside Pietermaritzburg, remembered how a White catholic priest, who happened to be her late father's friend, came to her rescue when he organised with the Mariannhill religious nuns to have her accepted in their orphanage called St Vincent Children's Home. She reiterated that both the priest and the nuns were instrumental not only in her schooling but also in her personal development and growth and in making her the person she is today.

Nomakhosi recalled that she was in standard 2 when she went to Mariannhill, where she completed her primary and secondary schooling while staying at the Children's Home under the care and tutelage of the nuns. Furthermore, she remembered that while under the care and tutelage of the nuns, they made it clear to her that they were only prepared to assist her until she completed matric. While at the children's home

she recalled attending a nearby primary school before she could go to the well-known Mariannhill secondary school where she completed matric in 1980. She reminisced that it was in Mariannhill where she first met the strict White nuns who were her teachers. Nomakhosi highlighted that since the nuns were only prepared to educate her until matric level, this convinced her to change from her initial ambition of pursuing legal studies in order to become a magistrate or court interpreter, to consider a career in teaching because her unemployed mother did not have the financial power to send her to university.

Nevertheless, the reflective Nomakhosi recalled that the environment at the high school was characterised by a sense of discipline and compliance to the rules. She said this was since there was a large contingent of religious nuns and priests who taught at the school at the time. Amidst such strictness, Nomakhosi reminisced that teachers – mainly nuns – were committed in their work and instilled in her a sense of purpose in schooling as well as to strive for academic excellence. As a result, she said, her school always performed better because it had adequate resources and committed teachers, and this was contrary to the township schools which lacked resources.

Nomakhosi also reminisced that she went to school at the height of the apartheid years where there was hardly any opportunity for Black African children. However, she recalled that while she had wanted to become a magistrate or court interpreter, she was nevertheless denied the opportunity by the apartheid system that was committed to delaying the progress of Black African children. For example, she recalled that back then as a Black African child one could become a nurse, a teacher, or a policeman. As a result, the young Nomakhosi saw her dream career being dealt a severe blow only because her illiterate and unemployed mother could not send her to university. Meanwhile, she vividly recollected that, after she completed matric in 1980, she was compelled to work as a domestic worker for a few years in order to save some money in order to attend the Teachers' Training College in Pietermaritzburg where she specialised in English and History.

Nomakhosi's experience of school history

Nomakhosi remembered that, among many other things, in history lessons they were taught about the arrival of the White settlers in South Africa and their commander Jan Van Riebeeck. She reminisced that they were encouraged to memorise the dates, or the facts as told in the classroom. However, she recalled that as learners they were discouraged from asking questions with racial overtones but told instead to focus on the facts. She emphasised that “we did not really ask questions, it was 1652 Jan Van Riebeeck arrived at the Cape and established a refreshment station, that was what we learnt”. Also, she remembered that while in grade 10 they were taught about frontier wars but without necessarily analysing the negative impact they had on Black African people. That is, she explained that there was hardly any analysis as to how Black African people came to lose their land and their livestock. Moreover, Nomakhosi also remembered that in her history classes the Whites were often represented as heroes in relation to Black Africans who were perceived as inferior and irresponsible.

Nomakhosi recalled that generally Black Africans in history books were negatively represented in that the White settlers always saw them as not credible thinking beings, but as people who always destroyed each other. On this note, she reminisced that they knew King Shaka as the most feared and dangerous Zulu leader who did not hesitate to punish and kill his foes. While on the other hand, she recollected that, Moshoeshe was portrayed cowardly as a leader that was always on the run to the mountains for protection and he would throw stones at his enemies who dared to follow him.

Meanwhile, the softly-spoken mother of one also reminisced that issues pertaining to the struggle for freedom in South Africa, against apartheid, were not taught at school. She further explained that it was even prohibited to talk about it. For instance, she recalled that she was in grade 9 when she first heard about Steve Biko, and this was just a day after he was killed. However, she vividly remembered how her teacher was when he entered the classroom and told them about what had happened to Biko. She further recalled that the teacher clearly explained who was Biko and that he had helped establish the Black Consciousness Movement in the country. She pointed out that it “was the only time that anyone told us about anything that was current”. Moreover, she recalled how the hostel authority at the school, the White nuns, strongly

discouraged them from talking about political issues at the time. She recollected that “they gave us unkind treatment when we talked about what was happening and we looked at it as being racially motivated”.

Nomkhosi’s view of school history

It was the discouragement of learners in asking critical questions in class as far as race was concerned that awakened her love for history as a subject. She realised that only history taught about people, their way of life and thinking. For instance, she categorically pointed out that “there was hardly any attempt at looking how the loss of land and the loss of livestock impacted negatively on black people”. Moreover, many years later – especially after finishing school, training and then having the opportunity to work as a teacher with the nuns - the real reason for the discouragement by the religious nuns dawned on Nomakhosi: looking at their method of teaching while working with them, she observed that the discouragement was a safety or defensive mechanism. She recollected, at the height of apartheid, it was the thinking, questioning, resisting pupils who became targets of apartheid security police. The sisters, she said, wanted to avoid that for their pupils. Thus they silenced them, saying that all the criticism which might have awakened the awareness and knowledge that a proper education would awaken.

Part 2: Nomakhosi’s parents

The role of Nomakhosi’s parents in her education

Although Nomakhosi had very few moments with her father, who was a retired teacher, she recollected that her love for reading was inspired by her father who always read books or newspapers whenever he was home. “As a child I used to ask him why he was reading and I would ask him to also give me a newspaper though I could not read. I found it interesting as a child”, she recollected. However, she reminisced that after her father’s death the Mariannhill nuns assumed the role of guardian to young Nomakhosi as they sponsored her education until matric level. On the other hand, she also emphasised that the sisters did provide books for reading, and encouraged all the children to read in order to succeed at school. She recalled that it was unfortunate that her sickly, illiterate, and unemployed mother not able to educate her.

Part 3 Nomakhosi as parent

Nomakhosi as a parent and subject choice for her child

Speaking about subject selection and career choice for her daughter, Nomakhosi pointed out that at first, she had advised her child to follow the science stream subjects with the view of pursuing a civil engineering career after matric. However, Nomakhosi admitted that this was somehow against her daughter's wish to become a psychologist one day. Meanwhile, following the poor performance of her daughter in mathematics and physical science she advised her daughter to change to the general stream subjects that included history.

5.7 Phiwe's story

History is non-existent for me

Phiwe was born and bred in eMoba village in Ladysmith. She attended her initial education in her village under the guidance of her father who was a teacher and an inspector of education at the time. It was her father who took her to a teacher's training college after she completed her Junior Certificate, standard 8. After the course she was awarded a Primary Teaching Certificate (PTC) qualification. Her father would not allow her to begin working as a teacher since she was only 18 years old, and instead he encouraged her to further her studies at Mariannhill Mission School in order to complete her matric (Form 4 and Form 5) in 1982 and 1983 respectively. After she obtained her Senior Certificate she went back to her village and worked as a teacher for a period of one year. In the following year, her father once again sent Phiwe to the University of the Free State where she completed her Bachelor of Arts with specialisation in geography and education. It was only after her tertiary level that Phiwe took a full-time job as a teacher in 1987 till to date. As a teacher she has taught in various schools in Ladysmith and in the Durban region.

Part 1: Phiwe as learner

Background: Schooling experience

Growing up in the cold Emoba village in Ladysmith, about 230 kilometres away from the city of Durban, Phiwe Mlaba recalled how she attended school under challenging circumstances of the apartheid system where there were limited opportunities for Black African people as far as schooling was concerned. She pointed out that as a Black person, "if you did not become a teacher, a nurse, or policeman then you could become a clerk or simply a school drop-out and nothing else". She reminisced that she had initially wanted to become a radio news reader but her father, who was a teacher and inspector of education at the time, played a significant role in her becoming a teacher. However, she remembered that her father had told her that it would be difficult for her to achieve her ambition of becoming a radio presenter or radio news reader being a Black African girl at the time. Consequently, she said, she had to follow her father's advice. The out-spoken Phiwe also remembered that unfortunately, many of her peers had very little chance of attaining university education because of their disadvantaged background as their parents could not send them to school.

Phiwe also recalled that having studied in a rural environment did not only mean that they were cut off from the mainstream way of life but also that they did not keep abreast of the politics of the time or current affairs. She explained that as Black African learners at the time they lacked awareness of what was happening in the country when it came to the issue of challenging the system and liberation struggle. For instance, she pointed out that they did not know about the June 16 events in Soweto and when they eventually heard about it, they were completely misinformed about what really had happened. She added that the misinformation was aimed at misleading them, thereby instilling a wrong interpretation of the event. “The way it was related to us by authorities was that these Soweto kids were naughty and were fighting against the government. The way it was brought to us, we would be always reminded: “don’t do things like the Soweto kids are doing”, she reiterated.

Meanwhile, the mother of two girls recollected that the environment at Mariannhill where she completed forms 4 and 5, in 1982 and 1983 respectively, was different from that of her Emoba rural village. She said it was in Mariannhill, a catholic school, where for the very first time she was taught by White teachers, who happened to be nuns. She further reminisced that the school under the nuns was characterised by a strict schooling environment, discipline and compliance with the catholic ethos. Moreover, and on a positive note, she recalled that the nuns always encouraged them to work hard in order to excel academically.

Looking back as an adult today, Phiwe reflected that her Afrikaans teacher, a White nun, used to make racially motivated remarks about their performance, especially if they did not understand or give the correct response. She vividly recollected that each time they did not understand what was being said in class or did not give the correct response, they would then be compelled to say aloud in Afrikaans: “Ek is dom koppig” meaning “we are dull”. She contemplated that such remarks were unfair but because we were learners back then, we found it interesting to recite such belittling or undermining comments. For instance, “we did not mind by then but when you look at it now, you realise that these are things that could not be said to a child”, she reiterated.

Phiwe also highlighted the fact that Black African learners after standard 8, qualified to attend teachers’ training college. This was a systematic way of delaying the

progress of Black African children as far as education was concerned. She echoed that “when I look back today I can say it was a way of blocking us, maybe they doubted our intelligence”.

Phiwe’s experience of school history

Phiwe recalled that in primary school history was taught as part of social studies (SS) a subject which was a combination of history and geography. She also reminisced that SS was taught by the same teacher who happened to be more inclined to or passionate about geography than history. This, she explained, was evidenced by the long hours spent teaching the geography section. However, she emphasised, this made her on the one hand doubtful about her teacher’s ability and understanding of the history section. On the other hand, looking back today as an adult, she reflected that her teacher did not teach history effectively and thus he failed to instil in her love and passion for history as a subject. On this note, Phiwe pointed out that not only did she battle to remember what she had learnt back then, but also that she hardly understood history in class. Furthermore, such lack of understanding, she said, could have been associated with the fact that her teacher spent more time teaching geography. She reminisced that some of the things she learnt back then even today she hardly understood. For instance, she said, the content of African history: the Mfecane, which was a period of great upheaval and mass migration of the African people in the Southern Africa region, did not hold any meaning.

The reflective Phiwe also reminisced that the common method used in teaching back then was that of rote learning. She explained that they were often compelled to memorise the deemed days and events of significance of the White settlers’ history. For example, she recalled that it was important for them to memorise the date of the arrival of Jan Van Riebeeck and the White settlers in 1652, the Great Trek, as well as to know the history of Ladysmith, her home town. She vividly remembered that this was often accompanied by severe punishment or corporal punishment if they failed to remember such dates or events.

However, she highlighted that when she came to Mariannhill to do forms 4 and 5 the subject of history was taught by a White nun. She reminisced that among many other

things, they were taught about the WW 1 & 2, and Adolf Hitler. She remarked that even at this level she still did not effectively understand history lessons. For instance, she recollected that some of the things she did not understand included terms or concepts such as, the Coup d'état of Brumaire. She categorically pointed out that "I hardly remember much about South African history, which could be because western history was 'The History', and that my teachers were part of that apartheid regime, by virtue of being white, they were teaching history which was more western inclined", she reiterated.

Moreover, she recalled that during their school days it was not permissible to talk about liberation struggle figures such as Nelson Mandela and many others. However, she reminisced that "when we were growing up we knew that there was Mandela, but we never saw him, even his pictures were banned from circulation". On the contrary, she added that, they encouraged them to recognise and sing praises of Prince Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the then leader of KwaZulu Homeland.

Phiwe's views of school history

Phiwe pointed out that her views about history are based on her experience of the subject during her school days. She reminisced that she saw history as a subject that was used to belittle and undermine the Black African people. For instance, she recollected that back then, Black African parents working for White families were expected to address the White kids as 'Nkosana' and 'Nkosazana' a boy child of a king and a girl child of a king respectively. She categorically stated that Black African parents at the time of the apartheid system were submissive and they feared the White people, hence the idea that the Black African people were inferior was instilled in their minds as well as in their attitudes. She reiterated that, "When I look at it now it seems unfair ... we were submissive, and the idea of white supremacy was instilled in us". Furthermore, looking back as an adult today, Phiwe reflected that the deliberate emphasis on Western history content rendered African history as non-existent or irrelevant.

Part 2: Phiwe's parents involvement in her education

The role of Phiwe's parents in her education

Phiwe recalled how her father, who was a teacher and an inspector of education, played a pivotal role not only in her upbringing but also and most importantly throughout her education journey. As indicated earlier, she reminisced that although her ambition was to become a radio news reader, her father influenced her to become a teacher, thus following in her father's footsteps. As a result, she recollected that it was after she completed standard 8 when her father encouraged her to go to teacher's training college when she was only 16 years old, and subsequent to her completion of the course she was awarded a PTC teaching qualification. However, she said, on account of her young age her father did not allow her to start working as a teacher, but encouraged her to go to Mariannhill Mission School where she completed Form 4 and Form 5 (matric). Moreover, after matric, she recalled that her father persuaded her to go to the University of the Free State where she completed a BA degree with specialisation in geography and education. She reminisced that at the university she pursued geography studies because she had been influenced by her teacher who spent more time teaching them geography than history in their social studies. On this note, Phiwe recalled that "my teacher was more inclined to geography than history because there are many things that I remember about geography rather than history at the primary school level". Following her tertiary education Phiwe took a full time position as a Geography teacher at Scelokhuhle High School in her home village before she relocated to Durban soon after the new democratic dispensation in South Africa.

Part 3: Phiwe as a parent today

Phiwe as a parent and subject choice for her children

As a parent today, Phiwe admitted to having had a closer supervision of her children's subject choice at school. She highlighted that none of her children was doing history because she did not encourage them to choose history. Furthermore, she said that the lack of encouragement was partly due to her bad experience of the subject in that throughout her school days she hardly understood history at school. However, she

firmly stated that even if her children had dared to select history, she would not have approved it, because she saw no bright future in one doing history and as a result, she did not encourage them. She reiterated that "... for me history is non-existent and what would you do with history, because with it you just become a teacher and what else"? Meanwhile, Phiwe pointed out that she was aware of the common mistake most parents, including herself, commit when it comes to the subject selection of their children. She explained that because of the emphasis on mathematics and science subjects there was a tendency to overlook other subjects such as history. As a result, she said, this has led to many drop-outs in both mathematics and science subjects, to General Stream subjects.

5.8 Sindi's story

History as a window to the world

Sindi grew up in Thembalani village in Umzimkhulu area, which at the time was part of the Eastern Cape. Her parents were illiterate and hardly attended school meetings. Her school was constructed with conventional material such as mud, cow-dung and thatched grass. Though it was a poor mission school the teachers were committed and it obtained good results. After her primary school she went to a boarding school where she did her high school, far away from home. Her father though illiterate inspired her to become a teacher as he had the ability to tell life and educational stories – she saw in her father a real teacher. After matric she went to a teacher's training college where she specialised in history and English. She worked as history teacher for several years before she could resign to take a position in the local municipality.

Part 1: Sindi as a learner

Background: schooling experience

Although her school, like many other Black African schools in the area at the time, lacked basic resources, Sindi recalled how the mission school, against all odds, managed to create an environment for teaching and learning, evidenced by regular testing and satisfactory results. Growing up in Thembalani village in UMzimkhulu in the former Eastern Cape region, Sindi reminisced that the good results that the school attained were due to the commitment of the teachers who showed determination in their different subjects including music. She vividly recollected that it was a poor school as it was built with mud and plastered with cow-dung. She further explained that some structures or buildings had thatched roofs while others had corrugated iron roofs. She also reminisced that growing in the village together with her peers it was a routine to walk long distances to school since the school was far away from home.

The former teacher reminisced that due to lack of adequate infrastructure, they experienced overcrowding in classrooms. She recollected in her classroom there were two different classes, each facing in opposite directions. "One side would be one class and the other side would be another class", she reiterated. Reflecting now as an adult, she highlighted that as learners back then it was a normal daily situation as it was the

only schooling experience they had at the time. Furthermore, she also recollected that the lack of stationery at school resulted in them having to use slates for their school work. In addition, during this early stage of schooling she reiterated that they did not have career guidance or exposure, but nevertheless they just went to school without a specific goal for the future.

However, she further recalled that she was in grade 8 when mathematics was introduced to them at school. Looking back as an adult today, she highlighted the fact that mathematics was introduced late in their schooling was to ensure that Black African learners encountered difficulties, thus justifying the alleged idea that a Black African child cannot do mathematics as a subject. "I remember, the teacher would come in the afternoon and would write $X+Y= P$ on the board and it confused us, and we were told it was a new subject called mathematics", she reiterated.

Sindi's experience of school history

Sindi reminisced that during her school days in the lower grades, history was part of the social studies a combination of history and geography. Reflecting as an adult today, she recalled that in the history section sometimes the content was distorted as they were taught that life or history in South Africa began with the arrival of Jan Van Riebeeck and the White settlers in 1652. On this note, she also reminisced that as learners they were expected to memorise historical dates and events including certain personalities deemed important in history. In the meantime, she recalled that the European history was the focus in their syllabus, and that explorers such as Bartholomew Dias, Vasco Da Gama and many others were credited as the ones who discovered Africa and other parts of the world. Looking back as an adult today, she highlighted that such knowledge misled the learners, as they believed that before the arrival of the White settlers there was no life or history in South Africa. Sindi vividly remembered that she was in high school when she began to think critically about history as it helped enlighten her mind about what was happening around at the time.

Nevertheless, she also recalled that local history was not seen as prominent or relevant to that teachers chose not to teach them particular sections especially those that highlighted Black African people's bad experiences at the hand of the White people such as discrimination and subjugation. By so doing, "she did not want to arouse awareness amongst us in terms of oppression under apartheid", she reiterated.

Consequently, she highlighted that the teacher, who happened to be a White nun, would simply instruct the learners to read on their own such sections highlighting the negative impact on the lives of the Black African people such as land dispossession and exploitation. Moreover, she pointed out that they were however tested on such sections despite the teacher not having taught them.

Growing up during the apartheid years, Sindi also recalled that they knew nothing about elections and they used to see some posters along the road as they walked to school with inscriptions such as “This land belongs to Us” but in Afrikaans. However, she highlighted as they began to reflect on what was happening around, though with little understanding they would also pose a question in response to the poster “What about us”? She reiterated that this was an indication that as Black African learners they were now becoming aware about the living and schooling conditions between Whites and Black African people. In the meantime, Sindi also recollected that the negative impact of apartheid was also a living testimony on her elders in the village as they also undermined their fellow black people. “What can a Black African person do without a white man?” Or “what are you as a black person?” Meanwhile, she pointed out that such belittling remarks contributed to shape her worldview about Black African people as inferior beings.

Sindi’s views of school history

Sindi highlighted that though her son was not doing history had he insisted or shown interest in it, she would not have blocked him at all. She also reminisced that during her teaching career as a history teacher she used to encourage learners to work to the best of their abilities and excel in those subjects they were good at. Furthermore, she pointed out that it was also the responsibility to inspire learners so that they can also see that history is an important subject. However, the challenge that some parents were facing today, including herself, was that of different perceptions about history in terms of its position or status in society. She categorically pointed out that, “The main issue we face as parents is that of status, and a better life, as opposed to what my child is capable of doing or love as far as subjects are concerned”.

Part 2: Sindi's parents involvement in her education

The role of Sindi's parents in her education

Sindi reminisced that while her illiterate parents were not very involved in assisting with her school work, they encouraged her to go to school and they always spoke about the importance of school and that this had motivated her. She further pointed out that her parents were overjoyed with her progress at school. She explained that since her parents could neither read nor write they depended on her to know about her own progress at school and moreover they did not even attend school meetings. For instance, "In my primary schooling I do not remember the practice of parents coming to attend school meetings at school. I remember my mother accompanying me to a high school which was a boarding school far from home", she recalled. She also remembered how her father had influenced her, to consider teaching as a career after matric. She recollected that it was through her father's ability of storytelling that helped her to become a history teacher as she saw in her father a complete teacher each time he told stories at home about different life situations. She firmly stated that, "I like history maybe because my father was a good storyteller... So my ambition was around teaching".

Part 3: Sindi as a parent today

Sindi as a parent and subject choice for her child

Sindi admitted that while her daughter's school played a significant role in allocating subjects for learners from grade 9 as per their performance particularly in mathematics and science in the previous phase, she however as a parent advised her child to take subjects that she was comfortable with and that she had seen her potential in the selected subjects.

5.9 Thabo's story

African leaders depicted as half-naked savages

Thabo was born and bred in Njane village, St Michael's parish, near Mzinto. He attended primary school at St Michael's Mission school before he could proceed to Ixopo St Mary's Seminary where he attended his high school. Both at St Michael's and St Mary's he was introduced to strict discipline and working hard in order to achieve excellence. As a young boy Thabo at a certain stage dreamt of becoming a priest only because he saw priests as the only White people who seemed to respect blacks. He also had wanted to become a teacher because he was inspired by his teachers and school principal in the manner they presented themselves. He also thought of being a doctor. However, coming from a disadvantaged background he ended up settling for priesthood because the church was going to sponsor his studies at the Major Seminary. Today Thabo works as a Catholic priest in the South Coast and he is a guardian to his sister's son.

Part 1: Thabo as a learner

Background: schooling experience

Growing up in Njane village in St Michael's Mission near Mzinto in the South Coast, Thabo remembered how together with his peers, they were unfortunate and disadvantaged in their school days. He also recalled that like many other children of his generation during their early days of schooling he did not know the real purpose of going to school. Nevertheless, he reminisced that they just followed the stream and found nothing interesting or exciting in that way. Meanwhile, he reminisced that his schooling journey began with Sub A and Sub B levels. In other words he recalled that when he was at these levels until standard 3 they were using isiZulu as the medium of instruction because they were in part of the Kwa-Zulu homeland. He further explained that since it was during the Bantu Education system all the Black African ethnic groups were expected to use their mother tongue as medium of instruction at school until a certain level of their studies before they could begin to use the English language at school. On this note, he remembered that he was in standard 4 when they began using English at school. However, he highlighted that though they were following the government syllabus – the Bantu Education System – the St Michael's

mission school where he completed his primary level played a pivotal role in instilling the love for schooling and that the teachers at the school were committed in their work.

In the meantime, looking back as an adult now, the softly-spoken guardian reminisced how unfair the system was as there was differentiation of education where the Black African learners were dispensed inferior education by all standards as opposed to quality education for the White children. Thabo explained that the substandard education for Black African people impacted negatively on their aspirations or prospects for the future as far as career choices were concerned at the time. For instance, he highlighted that there were limited opportunities for Black African children, as a result the common professions earmarked for the Black African people included teaching, nursing and police. Therefore, “we were limited, and we were not exposed to the different professions as we see them today”, reiterated Thabo.

Thabo also reflected that he was fortunate to have attended catholic schools throughout the process of his educational journey. He pointed out that after his primary education at St Michael’s he then went to Ixopo where he attended St Mary’s Minor seminary (high school) and all these institutions provided quality education, unlike many public schools which lacked resources and adequate facilities. Moreover, he reiterated that discipline and the culture of academic excellence were highly emphasised which helped him to have a positive direction and focus in his life.

Reflecting on his past school experience, Thabo recollected that while the mission schools were committed to training Black African intellectuals the government on the other hand was against such an endeavour in that the main idea was to educate Black Africans as servants, thus taking instructions and serve their White masters. For instance, he recalled that one of the then government officials stated that there was no need to teach a Black African child mathematics because he/she will never need it in his/her life.

Thabo’s experience of school history

Thabo reminisced that his first experience of school history began with the social studies which was a combination of geography and history. However, on the history section, among many other things, he recalled having learnt about leaders of the then Kwa-Zulu homeland Prince Mangosuthu Buthelezi and African chiefs such as King

Shaka and his father, the Mfecane wars that took place amongst various African chiefdoms at the time. He recollected that African leaders were often represented as savages who were ready to kill whoever came their way. For instance, “they were showing us in history books half naked African leaders with spears all over the place. That is the history that was presented to us”, he stated.

Moreover, he also recalled learning about the Dutch East Indian Company, as well as the arrival of Jan Van Riebeeck and the White settlers in South Africa. He pointed out that the arrival of Jan Van Riebeeck in 1652 was viewed as the most important day when history began in South Africa. Moreover, he remembered having learned also about the European history for instance, the French Revolution and Napoleon, Hitler and the WW2. Thabo further highlighted that the White people were always portrayed in a positive light in history books as people with organisational skills and abilities.

Thabo’s view of school history

Thabo highlighted that unlike the history that they were taught during his school years, today’s history syllabus and content is much improved. He reminisced that, the way history was introduced to them as learners back then, was not inspiring and as a result many learners including himself did not like history. He recalled that back then they could not study about the struggle of Black African people but on the contrary the struggle of White people was the focus. “But today, learners can learn about the struggle against apartheid and how the blacks fought and resisted the oppressive system”, he reiterated. Furthermore, he also commended the current government for positive efforts in improving the history syllabus to reflect an inclusive picture of the history of South Africa but more could still be done.

Part 2: Thabo’s parents involvement in his education

The role of Thabo’s parents in his education

As far as his parents’ involvement in his schooling was concerned, Thabo reminisced that though his parents were not educated they however encouraged him to study in order to secure a better future. He pointed out that his father had studied until standard 4 whereas his mother only went as far as standard 2. He recalled that since he came from a poor background like many of his peers at the time, sometimes his father was compelled to sell some of his livestock such as goats not only make ends meet for the

family but also to pay for his education. Thabo highlighted that though he had thought of becoming a medical doctor at a certain stage and then a teacher because he was inspired by his teachers and the school principal in the manner, they presented themselves. But none of these careers came to fruition because his father did not have the money to take him either to the university or to the teacher's training college. Thabo reminisced that since these careers were not easily achievable, however with the influence of the priests around in catholic schools and the church where he assiduously attended, he then thought more seriously about priesthood. He recalled that a certain German priest made a good impression on him because he was White but he did not discriminate against anyone and that he loved the Black African people. As a result, he then decided to study towards the priesthood at St Joseph's Theological Institute in Pietermaritzburg. Although Thabo works as a Catholic priest today, he is also the guardian of his late sister's son.

Part 3: Thabo as a parent today

Thabo as a parent and subject choice his child

As a guardian of his sister's son, Thabo admitted to having advised his son (not biological) to pursue medicine after matric as he believed that would help him to secure a better job and a bright future. He categorically stated that, "we would like to see our children get better jobs and succeed in life and not be like us who did not have opportunities". He reminisced that due to the bad schooling experienced by most Black African parents had in the past, it was however challenging for some of them, including himself, to allow their children to pursue certain subjects such as history as they maintain that since it did not help them in the past it will also not help their children now especially at a time when there are so many opportunities.

5.10 Themba's story

History was not interesting at all

Themba was born in Chesterville near Durban and grew up in KwaMashu Township. His parents relocated to KwaMashu when he was ten years old. As a young boy he wanted to become a medical doctor but because of the difficult situation in which he grew up he could not achieve his dreams. However, Themba became a teacher like many Black Africans of his generation. Soon after democracy in South Africa he left his teaching career to become a businessman as he went on to establish a small business in the construction field.

Part 1: Themba as a learner

Background: schooling experience

Themba recalled attending school during the apartheid era, when there were hardly any opportunities for Black African children. During this time, Themba remembered having had a positive attitude towards schooling. However, he reminisced that one of the challenges that they encountered at the time was the hostile system that worked against Black African majority. As a young boy growing up in KwaMashu Township north of Durban, he remembered that his school was poorly equipped, without a library and a laboratory, as a result, learners were forced to conduct scientific experiments orally. Such a difficult situation, he said, was to limit Black African children' to realise their potential.

Moreover, he recollected that his school lacked maintenance which was evidenced by the existence of broken windows and leaking roofs coupled with overcrowded classrooms. Such a sore sight, he said led him and his peers to develop resentment towards going to school. However, he stressed that, "But this was part of our routine, it is only now that one begins to reflect and think back that one is able to see how disadvantaged we were back then". The eloquently spoken Themba explained that the lack of career guidance and exposure during their school days led many Black African children, including himself, not to fully grasp the purpose of schooling, as he decisively stated, "we just went to school because we had to".

Apart from the substandard education system they received, Themba categorically remembered that sport was also used to divide them in that some sporting codes were played on racial lines. For instance, he said during those days as Black African children sporting activities at school were only a means of entertainment for them. However, he emphasised, “But today, sport is career orientated and it is a talent that you can live upon”. He recalled that the common sporting codes found in Black public schools included soccer, netball and athletics, while on the other hand, rugby and tennis were the preserve of White schools. He pondered that “the idea behind this was to limit even the manner in which we could unleash our talent”.

Also, he recalled that some subjects such as mathematics and physical science were portrayed as too difficult for a Black African child, and they were earmarked only for intelligent learners who happened to be the White kids. He said, “We were prevented from doing these subjects for the sake of opening doors for the whites. That was a demarcation; it was well planned that as blacks we could not cross the line”. However, he reminisced that as Black African people they were encouraged to become nurses, teachers, and policemen, to the detriment of their aspirations and goals. “We had high aims as well, but we failed to achieve them. Now that we have kids, we want them to achieve those goals for us, we are pushing them”, highlighted Themba .He emphasised that as a learner back then he always wanted to become a medical doctor, but because his parents were poor, they could not send him to university and therefore he was unable to fulfil his dream of studying medicine. He explained that this was the case with many Black African children at the time.

Themba’s experience of School history

Speaking about his experience of school history, Themba expressed that the content studied in lower grades did not help him at all. He said among many other things they were taught about the arrival of White settlers in the country in 1652 led by Jan Van Riebeeck. He also highlighted that as far as he remembers Black African people were often misrepresented in history books as unintelligent people. This depiction moreover led him and some of his peers to dislike the subject of history. Moreover, he said the fact that soon upon arrival in South Africa the White settlers dispossessed the Black Africans of their land further contributed to his dislike of history, and as a result he saw Jan Van Riebeeck as the leader behind the misfortune that befell the black people.

Themba believed that such historical content which impacted negatively on the lives of Black African people was not necessary in that it only served to ignite bad feelings amongst Black African people who viewed themselves as victims of White oppression. For instance, he angrily posed the question “How dare you keep such selective knowledge which affected us?” As a result for him history was a boring and annoying subject that had a negative impact on them since it did not favour Black Africans but the White people.

Despite the negative attitude that Themba had towards history he however, after his junior certificate, chose history in high school. Unfortunately, he said he still could not understand it as it proved to be too difficult for him in that he could not distinguish historical content from folklore. For instance, he highlighted that, “It was difficult to understand my teachers when they spoke about Christopher Columbus, and Bartholomew Dias. It was difficult too to differentiate history from folklores”. As a result, he said he failed three times because of lack of understanding and this was since his teacher did not seem enthusiastic and passionate about the subject hence he did too little to inspire them and to instil love of history as a subject. He reiterated that his failure was because his teacher hardly had time to explain issues properly which contributed towards his dislike of history.

Themba’s views of school history

However, he commended the post 1994 government efforts for the much improved history syllabus today. He said, “Our history now is something that is quite interesting and it does not dehumanise me, but instead makes me regain my humanity and confidence.” Nevertheless, he pointed out that though the current history syllabus is much improved learners in general are still not interested in it. Because, the government, “was not doing enough in promoting our own history while the Afrikaners did promote theirs so well during apartheid,” he said.

Part 2: Themba’s parents involvement in his education

The role of Themba’s parents in his education

Themba recalled growing up in a challenging circumstances where most Black African parents were illiterate with the result that they could not assist their children with school work. Besides, he remembered that they often came back home from work tired and

the only thing they could think of especially the mothers was cooking and other house chores, while fathers in general came back home to sleep and they did not have time to monitor their schooling. Looking back as an adult now, Themba reflected that, “it looks as if our parents were dumping us at school and that the teachers would then take care of us”. However, as a parent today, Themba explained that the main reason why parents were encouraging their children to do certain subjects was because of the existing opportunities. He said the fact that even today Black Africans were perceived as an inferior race was because it was systematically orchestrated by the White minority at the time, as they wanted to establish White supremacy: hence occupy high positions in society, institutions and the corporate world. However, he pointed out that “Now the chances are open we also are directing our children to certain positions, but the mistake that we are actually making is to decide which choice of career the kids should follow”.

Professional career as a teacher

Themba recalled that throughout his teaching experience Black public schools, including his own, did not function properly because of incidents of political activism. He reminisced that “the same learners I was teaching at high school were political activists”. He said they often used to receive instructions to conduct disruptions and organise mass actions and consequently no schooling would take place at that time. As a teacher, he said, sometimes you came to school ready to teach, and suddenly soon after the school assembly you would hear slogans echoing in the corridors ‘*usuku lonakele*’ meaning that the day has been compromised and that meant no teaching was going to take place. Themba further explained that because of the close working relationship that existed between the learners and political activists in the township, they hardly finished the syllabus because there were many days in which learners would be absent from school as they participated in political activism. For example, he recollected that so often learners “used to receive orders from political activists instructing them to disrupt this or that and also organise mass actions and no schooling would take place at that moment”. He added that “it was disturbing to work as a teacher in such an environment”.

However, following the establishment of the new democratic dispensation in 1994 in South Africa, Themba said, taking advantage of the existing opportunities, he decided

to leave his teaching career in 1999, and he went on to establish a small construction company.

Part 3: Themba as a parent today

Themba as a parent and subject choice for his children

Themba reiterated that because of the hostile education system under apartheid that deliberately limited opportunities for Black African children at the time he could not achieve his aspiration of becoming a medical doctor. Moreover, his poor parents were not able to send him to university but like many young people of his generation, he ended up attending teachers' training college. However, he was determined to achieve his childhood ambition through his children as he always pondered that one of his children had to become a doctor one day. For instance, he once said "When I began working as a teacher, I told myself that I will have to channel my child to become a medical practitioner because I did not have the chance or opportunity myself".

In the meantime, the father of two boys, maintained that he was fully aware that his determination to persuade one of his children to become a medical doctor was a conflict of interest between him and his son who had wanted to pursue teaching as a career, but he persuaded him to consider medicine instead. He reiterated that "I advised him to do medicine because of my experience of teaching before I could leave it and start my own business." He also said that in a normal situation the role of teachers and parents is to guide the children in the right direction. He also alluded to the fact that the freedom for the children (learners) to choose was a difficult feat to attain because they tend to listen to parents who are their mentors. Unlike his parents, he reminisced, who were illiterate and could not involve themselves in the schooling of their children.

On the other hand, Themba recalled advising his second child to consider architecture as a career since he is good in technical drawing and that even his teachers have noticed it. But he was rather surprised when his younger son told him that he was more passionate about rugby than architecture, and that he wanted to pursue sports science after matric instead. However, he said at first he felt disappointed with the resolve of his son in not adhering to his advice. But, he echoed "I had to allow him eventually to follow his passion after I learnt that he had secured a full bursary from a

prominent rugby team in KZN". He explained that the bursary would cover tuition fees and accommodation, and there was no reason for him to stand in his way. He recalled that during his school days they only played sports as entertainment and a pastime activity and there were no career opportunities in sports as today.

Meanwhile, Themba admitted that in the process of choosing subjects for their children, parents were automatically disregarding their children's interest and inclination by denying them the right of choice in what they want and love for their future. Nevertheless, he emphasised that the reason behind such parental attitude was because most parents, including himself, still maintain even today the desire to attain their missed opportunities through their children under the current dispensation. For instance, he stated "whatever we ought to be, if we failed in our time, in what we were interested in, we tend to make our children do what we failed to do".

5.11 Thembeke's story

History helped her progress to the next Grade

Thembeke was born and bred in Nongoma in Zululand. She came from a humble family. Her parents encouraged her to go to school to prepare for her future. They taught her to live responsibly and take school seriously. Her father owned a small shop which served the community around her area. Thembeke had wanted to become an accountant, but she was circumstantially forced to consider nursing after she completed matric. After working for several years as a nurse, Thembeke in 2010 resigned as a nurse and she ventured into the so-called man's domain when she started a construction business. Her dream is not only to see the business expand but also to see her son one day manage the business.

Part 1: Thembeke as a learner

Background: schooling experience

Although she had a positive attitude towards schooling at an early age, Thembeke recalled how challenging and difficult the learning environment was under the Bantu Education system. Growing up in a humble family in Nongoma, Zululand, in the former KwaZulu homeland, she reminisced that there were no crèches to prepare children before they could begin attending school. She pointed out that she began attending school when she was 5 years old. She recalled that as part of the admission process at the time, children were required to stretch their right arm over their heads in order to touch the left the ear. She further explained that this was to ascertain the readiness of the child to begin attending school. However, "if the child failed to touch his or her ear, she was not admitted to school", she reiterated, adding that this was how she was admitted to start school when she was only 5 years of age.

Thembeke reminisced that though she loved schooling, she had however to repeat standard 4 only because she had scored 45% in one of the subjects despite having obtained 50% in other subjects. Meanwhile, she recalled that her school, like many other schools in the area, was poor and under-resourced. For instance, she highlighted that infrastructure was the biggest challenge they faced in her school as evidenced by shortage of classrooms. Moreover, she explained that the classrooms

were often overcrowded and as a result most learners sat on the floor due to the lack of enough desks. In addition, she also recollected that her classroom was crowded because it accommodated two different classes at the same time. She expounded that “we had two different classes in one classroom, one would be facing one side of the wall, and the other class facing the other side”, she reiterated. She added that “the circumstances we were learning under back then were very difficult”. In comparison to other schools in the area, Thembeke categorically stated that her school despite challenges that they had was better off than other schools because most learners attended lessons outside and under trees. As a result, she explained, learners were often distracted as they were often tempted to look at anything that was taking place outside and they hardly listened to the instructions of the teacher.

Reflecting now on her schooling experience Thembeke highlighted that another challenge they faced back then was the lack of career guidance and career opportunities. She remembered that professions for Black African people were very limited as they could only become nurses, teachers, policemen and social workers and there were no engineering professions for Black Africans. However, she explained that in rare cases some blacks could qualify to study medicine.

Thembeke’s experience of school history

She recalled that history during her school days was part of social studies which was a combination of geography and history. She pointed out that while it was difficult to remember what she was taught in history lessons back then, however she recalled learning about European history such as the French Revolution as well as the arrival of Jan Van Riebeeck and the White people in South Africa in 1652. She also reminisced that there was not much taught about South African content and moreover she did not have interest in history, most probably because her teacher spent more time teaching geography than history.

Nevertheless, looking back as an adult today, Thembeke pointed out that she studied history from standard 3 to standard 7 and that the only thing that she remembered of history was that it helped her progress to the next level as she passed it although without understanding it.

Thembeke's views of school history

The softly-spoken mother of one stated that her son was not doing history at school. However, she was of the view that it would be more practical for parents to allow their children to follow their interest and passion when it comes to subject selection including history. However, due to her experience of history where she lacked motivation, she could not encourage her son to consider choosing history as a subject at school.

Part 2: Thembeke's parents involvement in her education

The role of Thembeke's parents in her education

Thembeke reminisced that her parents played a crucial role in her upbringing as a responsible and respectful child. She highlighted that her parents, despite the challenges they faced at the time always encouraged her to take her education seriously and learn to appreciate the little she had in life because there were many young people of her age who did not attend school. Moreover, Thembeke recalled how she used to help her father in his small shop and she was also fascinated with helping people as she sold in the shop. She further recollected that through her involvement in her father's shop, she thought of becoming an accountant. However, "after matric I went to do nursing instead of accounting due to the limited opportunities at the time", she reiterated.

Part 3: Thembeke as a parent today

Thembeke as a parent and subject choice for her children

Thembeke remembered having had influence on her son's selection of subjects at school. She reminisced that in principle her son had wanted to pursue speech and drama at the university since he liked acting. However, she pointed out that she had encouraged him to consider pursuing accounting or medicine after matric. On this note, she explained that she helped him choose subjects such as accounting, mathematics and physical science as these subjects are associated with these intended careers. "I would want to see him study something that would make him a better person in terms of job opportunities", she reiterated. She also emphasised that as a young girl back then she had wanted to become an accountant but she was

unable to do so due to the lack of opportunities and she ended up doing nursing instead. She highlighted that she began working as a nurse in 1992, and with the advent of the new democratic dispensation in the country, Thembeke resigned as a nurse and ventured into a male-dominated industry when she decided to start a small construction business. She admitted that first it was not easy as she faced great challenges on account of being a woman in construction. She added that through perseverance and a committed team she had managed to make significant inroads in her field.

5.12 Conclusion

This Chapter presented the ten (10) storied narratives from the participants of this study. The storied narratives highlighted the Black African parents' schooling and school history experiences when they were learners during the apartheid era and now as parents in the post-apartheid era. Based on the storied narratives of the participants, the two contexts (apartheid and post-apartheid) in which their stories evolved have direct impact on their own lives as well as on the lives of their children who are learners in the post-apartheid context. That is, during the apartheid era, Black African parents were powerless and disempowered by the system and today under the post-apartheid democratic dispensation they have much control and influence over their children. The education system under apartheid was based on racial lines aimed at building a strong White identity and apartheid capitalist system to the detriment of Black African majority who were subjected to a substandard form of education. It is on this context that Thompson (2014) pointed out that "immense disparities between the buildings and the equipment in schools created for Whites and those created for Blacks; a dearth of qualified teachers; and the inordinate cost of raising the "black" schools to anything like the of the "White" schools" (p.266). Therefore, it was under such difficult political context in which Black African parents, the participants of this study, and their peers went to school. On the contrary and based on the storied narratives of the participants of this study, the post-apartheid education system opened a new chapter in the lives of all South Africans in particular to the previously disadvantaged Black Africa majority. That is, the democratic dispensation in South Africa, as highlighted in the storied narratives, marked a paradigm shift from an

oppressive and racist system, “to a non-racial form of society and of education in South Africa” (Hartshorne, 1992, p. 342). Based on the storied narratives of the participants, post-apartheid South Africa brought with it various opportunities in education which had been an exclusive preserve for the White minority during apartheid. Therefore, such a development as highlighted in the narratives has been the catalyst for Black African parents to influence their children when it came to the subject choices at high school level. Black African parents were adamant that they would want to see their children take advantage of the exiting opportunities unlike them who did not have opportunities when they were learners during apartheid. These experiences as highlighted in the storied narratives inform Black African parents’ approach to school history today, whether their children do or do not do school history at school.

The chapter also showed that Public/Township and Catholic schools used same Bantu Education curriculum, which endorsed an inferior form of education for Black Africa majority while at the same time, placing emphasis on White supremacy and Afrikaner nationalist ideology (Tibbits & Weldon, 2017; Masooa & Twala, 2014). In other words, the history curriculum placed white settlers as senior guardians of Black Africans and promoted the “Afrikaner nationalist historiography” (Kallaway 1995, p.12). Though these schools used same curriculum there were differences in terms of pedagogical methods of teaching and learning history. For instance, in public or Township schools the common method of teaching was by means of rote learning and memorisation of facts (Tibbits & Weldon, 2017). As highlighted on the personal Narratives such method led to most learners to dislike school history during apartheid era, as they perceived school history as a subject for memorising. On the other hand, in Catholic schools, as highlighted in the personal narratives of the participants, learners were encouraged to read and think independently (see Menzi story) as a way to understand the subject content as well as finding solutions on their own as opposed to memorisation. In spite of these differences in pedagogy, these schools followed the same history content which was informed by an Afrikaner-centred European perspective (see Chapter 2, pp. 33 – 39), where the history of Black Africans hardly featured in history textbooks. For instance, Masooa and Twala (2014, p. 2305) posit that history teachers under apartheid were compelled to “teach irrelevant content which had nothing to do with black people”. Such an approach led most Black African learners to hate school history because it did not mean much to them. However, the approach of teaching history

has since changed with the advent of a democratic dispensation in the country, from an authoritarian teacher-centred, content orientated (Hartshone, 1992) to a learner-orientated where the educator plays a role of a facilitator and placing emphasis on group work where better performing learners scaffold weaker ones. Also the new history curriculum stress on instilling critical skills such as interpretation and critical thinking among learners (DoE, 2001).

In the next Chapter, I move on to analyse the storied narratives where similar categories were then consolidated into a few and manageable main narratives which form the basis of the discussion in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 6

ANALYSIS OF THE PERSONAL NARRATIVES

People shape their daily lives by stories of who they and others are and as they interpret their past in terms of these stories (Connelly & Clandinin, 2006, p. 479).

6.1 Introduction

In Chapter 5, I presented the ten (10) storied or personal narratives from the participants in this study. As a recap, for the purpose of this study, storied narratives refer to the ten stories which were compiled from the transcribed data of the interviews. Also, by Black African parents I refer to the participants in the study who went to school during the apartheid era and who are now parents with children in high school. The storied narratives proposed an answer to Critical Question 1 of this study: What are the narratives of Black African parents as they relate to school history in both apartheid and post-apartheid South Africa? In this chapter, I move a step further to analyse the storied narratives which are meant to propose an answer to the Critical Question 2 of this study: How do parents' narratives explain why their children do or not do school history? The analysis of the storied narratives allowed me to identify and categorise various emerging themes that Black African parents under study have about their experience of school history and their school experience in general during apartheid and post-apartheid South Africa. As explained in the methodology chapter, these themes can be referred to as personal narratives, comprising similar consolidated categories from the storied narratives. These personal narratives form the basis of the presentation of this chapter.

This chapter is divided into two sections "A" and "B". Section-"A", seeks to discuss the personal narratives of the participants related to their experiences of school history and schooling in general under apartheid when they were learners. It is necessary to highlight that the participants' experiences of schooling in general are relevant because they show that their experiences did not evolve in a vacuum but within a given

context which was that of apartheid. Therefore, I found it necessary to foreground such experiences because they are part of their schooling which influenced their negative attitudes towards school history. The section is subdivided into four subsections: narrative of life experience under apartheid; narrative of experience of education under apartheid; narrative of experience of school history under apartheid; and narrative of parental involvement under apartheid. On the other hand, Section “B”, seeks to discuss the personal narratives of the participants related to school history and schooling in general in the post-apartheid era. The section is divided into four subsections: narrative of life experience in the post-apartheid era; narrative of experience of education in the post-apartheid; narrative of experience of school history in the post- era; and narrative of parental involvement in the post-apartheid era.

6.2 SECTION A: Personal Narratives related to school history under apartheid

As indicated in the introduction, in this section I will discuss themes in the form of participants’ narratives relating to their experiences of school history during apartheid when they were still learners. This section comprises four sub-headings: narrative of life experience under apartheid; narrative of education under apartheid; narrative of studying school history under apartheid; and narrative of parents and school history under apartheid.

6.2.1 Narrative of life experience under apartheid

This theme discusses the participants’ life experiences as learners during the apartheid era with a focus on their family background as well as their schooling experiences. It is important to note that, life experience of the participants under apartheid was characterised by difficulty or hardships. Therefore, the discussions in this section will revolve around the following narratives that emerged from the stories told: difficulty and poverty; inadequate infrastructure and lack of resources; and hopelessness and despair.

Most of the participants of this study revealed that they experienced a life of difficulty and poverty under apartheid. Their difficult life situation, as learners during the

apartheid era, is rooted in the discrimination and the homeland system where most Black African people lived in abject poverty. As a result, some parents were unable to send their children to school. The idea of difficulty and poverty is adequately indicated in Fana's personal narrative when he stated that his parents were too poor to send him to school. Furthermore, this idea is also properly stated in Madoda's personal narrative when he commented on the 'normalcy' of poverty for most Black African learners, "There was nothing wrong back then because we thought that everybody had similar experience as ourselves". This shows that the participants lived experiences play a vital role in making sense of their personal narratives within a context of them being young and Black in the 70s and 80s. Therefore, the poverty-stricken experience as stated in the personal narratives of the participants is associated with their disadvantaged background in the homelands and the inability of some of the parents to send their children to school, as they had to perform other duties to make the family survive. In other words, most Black Africans lived in abject poverty in homelands coupled with decades of racial discrimination and repression under the apartheid regime. The racial discrimination and repression were consciously orchestrated in order to establish a dependence relationship between Whites and Black Africans where the latter was used to serve the White community thus perpetuating the notion of Black inferiority. This tallies well with CRT discussed in Chapter 3. For instance, most of the participants of this study viewed their background of poverty and related difficulties in rural homelands/Bantustans but also elsewhere and the apartheid political context as the main factors for experiencing difficulties and poverty as learners back then. The idea of difficult living was suitably stated by Thembeke in her personal narrative when she pointed out that, "the circumstances we were learning under back then were very difficult" since their schooling was characterised by lack of resources and infrastructure.

All the participants in this study had a common experience regarding the issue of school resources and infrastructure during the apartheid era. Based on the personal narratives of the participants, schools for Black African learners were not only located in the rural environment in the homelands and the townships but they were also characterised by inadequate infrastructure and critical shortage of human and physical resources. Based on the personal narratives, the inadequate infrastructure was in the form of mud-brick schools which were often overcrowded. This idea of inadequate

infrastructure is illuminatingly conveyed by Fana when he stated that the shortage of classrooms led to different grades converging in one classroom, and “we were being examined on same things using same textbooks and writing same tests but different grades”. A similar view is also expressed by Sindi when she stated that as a result of different grades converging in one classroom, “one side would be one class and the other side would be another class”. It emerged from the analysis of the personal narratives of the participants that most schools for Black African learners in the homelands used traditional material such as mud-brick and grass as building materials and not the modern ones as available to White learners. The idea of the use of unconventional material in Black African schools is best highlighted in the personal narrative of Madoda who stated that, “we did not see anything wrong with the mud-brick-school because that was the only experience we had”. This is an indication that most of the schooling facilities for Black African learners during apartheid were not conducive for an effective process of teaching and learning. This tallies well with the discussion in Chapter 1 with regard to the purpose of education for most Black Africans under apartheid, which was intentionally planned to supply reliable and cheap labour to White owned industries (Christie & Gordon, 1992). Similarly, in Chapter 1 (Biko & Stubbs, 2002) highlight the difficult living conditions for Black Africans in the reserves as inadequate and of inferior quality.

Apart from the inadequate infrastructure, another aspect that emerged from the analysis of the personal narratives of the participants is the shortage of human and educational resources amongst Black African learners. This idea of lack of resources such as textbooks and other school equipment is appropriately conveyed by Londeka in her narrative when she stated that “we used to write on slates, when you see the other one writing you also write and when they wipe you also do same without necessarily following instructions”. This shows that the difficulty in learning faced by most Black African participants did not provide them with purpose and importance of schooling. For instance, Themba in his story highlights such lack of purpose when he accordingly stated that “we just went to school because we had to”. In addition, Themba in his narrative stated that, in view of lack of resources Black African schools did not have, “libraries and laboratories and learners conducted their scientific experiments orally”. In support of this idea is Thabo’s narrative which appropriately indicated, “how unfair the system was as there was differentiation of education where

Black African learners were dispensed an inferior education". Moreover, the analysis of the personal narratives of the participants also highlighted that most Black teachers during apartheid were underqualified. This is an indication that education under apartheid contributed towards the establishment of racial stratification and by means of education which perpetuated a notion of Black inferiority and White supremacy amongst learners. For instance, in Chapter 2, with reference to Afrikaner major symbols (Du Preez et al., 1983) it was boldly emphasised that Afrikaners not only owned South Africa but also that Whites were superior over Black Africans. Similarly, in Chapter 2, (Walker & Archung, 2003) support this idea of White supremacy in all aspects of life over most Black African people. Therefore, such negative experience contributed to the idea of hopelessness and despair amongst Black African participants.

What also emerged from the analysis of personal narratives regarding difficult life experience under apartheid is the theme of hopelessness and despair. Based on the analysis of personal narratives, participants experienced hopelessness and despair through the political context that rendered Black African schools dysfunctional particularly in townships. That is, most schools in townships were involved in political activism as they resisted the apartheid inferior form of education dispensed to the majority of Black Africans. For instance, Themba who also worked as a teacher during apartheid he stated in his personal narrative that "the learners I was teaching at high school were political activists ... used to receive orders from political activists instructing them to disrupt this or that and also organise mass actions and no schooling would take place at that moment". As a result of regular involvement of learners in political activism the syllabus was hardly completed due to constant disruptions. Apart from political activism, the analysis of personal narratives also shows that hopelessness and despair amongst Black African parents emerged as a result of the abject poverty in homelands which destroyed the hopes of many Black youths at the time. The story of Fana provides an appropriate example of this idea as he stated in his narrative that "I consider myself very old because I started going to school when I was 13 and when I was in doing standard 5 I was 18 years old". This is an indication poverty in the homelands condemned many young Black African youths to hopelessness and despair. This tallies well with the literature review discussions in Chapter 2 regarding the purpose of homelands and the idea of separate development,

where most Black African learners were denied the right to pursue certain subjects and professions as such were reserved for White learners.

6.2.2 Narrative of experiencing apartheid - education

Based on the personal narratives of the participants of this study regarding their experience of apartheid education, revealed that their education experiences were characterised by inferior education with inadequate resources. Therefore, the discussion under this theme or heading revolves around the following subthemes or narratives: limited access to opportunities, lack of career guidance, pre-determined professions, and ineffective pedagogical methods of teaching.

It emerged from the analysis of the personal narratives of the participants that Black African parents and their peers were not only denied access to quality education, but were also limited to opportunities. The analysis of the personal narratives also revealed that the participants were not allowed to choose certain subjects such as mathematics and science subjects as these were reserved for White learners. This idea of limited access to opportunities for Black African learners is appropriately expressed in Themba's personal narrative when he stated that "we were prevented from doing these subjects for the sake of opening doors for White learners. It was well planned that as blacks we could not cross the line". This tallies with the discussions in Chapters 1 and 2 where the apartheid legislation and Verwoerd categorically stressed that a Black child did not need mathematics because he/she will never use it. This shows that such limited access to opportunities was aimed at providing a kind of education in which the majority of Black Africans felt inferior in relation to their White counterparts thus enabling the establishment of a master /servant relationship. This experience of limited access to opportunities is further highlighted by Londeka who conveyed that among other subjects they were taught at school under apartheid was home economics which "introduced learners into household tasks, family chores rather than educating a Black African child to become an intellectual and learned citizen". This is an indication that the lack to access opportunities for Black African learners was closely linked with the idea of lack of career guidance which helped to establish a sense of awareness with regard to the existence of different professions.

Most participants of this study are of the view that the lack of career guidance and career exposure throughout their schooling experience is one of the factors that contributed to limit their access to various post-matric professions. For instance, the role of career guidance and exposure is clearly highlighted in the personal narrative of Londeka who illuminatingly stated that she only became aware of various professions after her school excursion to the then Mangosuthu Technikon. The participant continued saying that the “excursion was a life changing experience in terms of career guidance and exposure”. One can argue therefore that the lack of career guidance was part of the government plans to confine the minds of Black African learners to think only about what was available in their respective homelands. This idea is well expressed in Mdoda’s personal narrative when he stated that “it was common for young men in the village to think of going to take jobs that were readily available to them such as working in the mines”. This tallies well with government’s goal to establish a reliable supply of cheap labour to various White enterprises including White owned farms and mines (see Chapters 1 and 2). Therefore such a schooling experience of participants serves to justify and illuminate the government’s rationale for denying most Black African learners the right to pursue professions of their choice as opposed to government’s pre-determined professions for Black Africans.

It also emerged from the personal narratives of the participants with regard to their schooling experience under apartheid that their goals and hopes for the future as far as professions were concerned were pre-determined by the government. Based on the analysis of the personal narratives, the participants revealed that among many other things they wanted to pursue professions of their own choice such as medicine, engineering, nutrition, law and even broadcasting, but this was not possible to attain because the system methodically blocked their progress through Bantu Education. In other words, the system of Bantu Education was used to provide an inferior education and it also introduced a differentiated form of education based on racial lines. The idea of pre-determined professions for Black African learners is illuminatingly conveyed by Phiwe when she stated that “if you did not become a teacher, a nurse, or a policeman, then you could become a clerk or simply a school drop-out and nothing else”. In other words, the rationale behind the pre-determined professions was to ensure that they did not compete with the Whites in other professions that were ranked as prominent such as engineering and mathematics. This shows that professional

occupations under apartheid were also racialized as certain occupations were reserved for White learners and others were earmarked for Black African learners. In addition, by limiting professional choices for most Black African learners the system deliberately suppressed their goals and aspirations thus creating an environment in which Black Africans were viewed as inferior beings as far as education was concerned.

Moreover, the analysis of personal narratives also shows that the participants of this study have a common experience regarding the pedagogical methods used under apartheid. What emerged from personal narratives is that history lessons were conducted using rote learning which placed emphasis on memorisation. This shows that such an ineffective pedagogical method was intended to indoctrinate most Black African learners thereby making them passive and submissive individuals. This was supported by the fact that learners were not encouraged to ask critical questions in class. For instance, Nomakhosi's narrative further revealed that learners who dared to ask certain critical questions would in turn receive bad treatment from their teachers. One can argue therefore that rote learning and memorisation was a desired method for the apartheid government because it promoted the idea of passive and submissive learners as opposed to learners asking critical questions in class. On a similar note, Phiwe added that "it was important to memorise the date of the arrival of Jan Van Riebeeck and White settlers in 1652". Therefore, the selective or biased content as highlighted in the personal narratives of the participants is associated with the Afrikaner White supremacist ideology that categorised the majority of Black Africans as an inferior group. In addition, the biased content was intended to inculcate the belief that Black Africans did not have a history of their own thus embracing the notion that history in South Africa began with the arrival of Jan Van Riebeeck and the White settlers.

Apart from the pedagogical methods of rote learning and memorisation the analysis of personal narratives further revealed that the participants experienced corporal punishment in the process of learning. It should be noted that corporal punishment was not only limited to school history, but was also a way of encouraging learners to assiduously attend school thus limiting absenteeism. The experiences of the authoritarian pedagogical practices characterised by unkind treatment of Black African

learners, led to some disliking school history. In the view of some, participants, such uninspiring teaching and learning practices were exacerbated by the fact that most history teachers were unenthusiastic and underqualified (see Chapter 2). For instance, most participants of this study revealed in the personal narratives that most of their teachers were unenthusiastic and lacked passion because they displayed low competence of the subject content in class. On this note, Themba's personal narrative supports this notion of unenthusiastic teachers when he explained he failed three times because of lack of understanding of what was being taught in class, which was due to the fact that his teacher was not enthusiastic and passionate with the subject, moreover he did too little to inspire them as learners and instil love for history as a subject. Similarly, Thembeke's narrative further illuminated that her teacher did not have interest in history most probably because she spent more time teaching geography than history.

6.2.3 Narrative of experience of school history under apartheid

This section seeks to discuss the experiences of Black African parents regarding their experience of school history under apartheid. The analysis of the personal narratives of the participants of this study, show that they have various narratives which highlight their experiences of school history as learners during the apartheid era. Therefore, the discussions on this section are based around the following narratives of the participants: biased content; distorted content; misrepresentation of Black African leaders; irrelevance of local history, omission of local historical content, and suppression of information.

All the participants of this study are of the view that they experienced a biased historiography when they were learners under apartheid. The analysis of the personal narratives of the participants of this study show that the school history syllabus under apartheid was used to promote Afrikaner and Western historiographies by undermining the integrity and dignity of most Black African people. Therefore, the idea of the biased content or historiography is adequately emphasised in Fana's personal narrative when he stated that "history books put emphasis on content that celebrated White settlers' history such as the Great Trek; Anglo-Boer War; and European history".

With reference to the relevance of Afrikaner historiography, most participants of this study, as noted in the previous section, are of the view that emphasis was also placed on the date of the arrival of Jan Van Riebeeck and the White settlers as the genesis of history in South Africa. It is important to highlight that memorisation was a key pedagogical method used to indoctrinate learners about historical events and personalities deemed significant such as Jan Van Riebeeck and Adolf Hitler. The notion of memorising historical facts is suitably stressed by Nomakhosi who stated that “we did not really ask questions, it was 1652 Jan Van Riebeeck arrived at the Cape and established a refreshment station, that was what we learnt”. Apart from the great events symbolic to Afrikaner historiography, it emerged from the analysis of the personal narratives that focus on European or Western history was also evident in history textbooks. In support of this idea Londeka and Phiwe’s narratives highlighted that the Eurocentric content focussed on “World War 1 and 2; the French Revolution, Napoleon, and Adolf Hitler”. This idea of biased content is further is illuminatingly conveyed by Phiwe who stated that “I hardly remember about South African history because Western history was the History, and my teachers were part of that apartheid regime, by the virtue of being white, they were teaching history which was more western inclined”. This is an indication that the deliberate limitation of local content related to Blacks was aimed at manipulating the minds of Black African learners to think of themselves as insignificant individuals in a society that proclaims and celebrates White supremacy. One can argue therefore, that such sanctioned historiography led to the distorted history content in textbooks which was part of the government programme of the time to promote its White supremacist interests.

With the analysis of the personal narratives of the participants of this study, it emerged that the school history content was not only biased, but was also deliberately distorted in order to support and sustain Afrikaner and White supremacist ideology. For instance, as highlighted in the personal narratives of Thabo and Sind that under apartheid learners were taught that history in South Africa began with the arrival of Jan Van Riebeeck and the White settlers in 1652. While such distorted and misleading content was used to promote pride and supremacy of White people, it was on the other hand used to undermine the integrity and essence of existence of most Black Africans as a people without history of their own. This tallies well with the discussions in Chapter 2 with regard to the glorification of White colonisation and supremacy over Black

Africans (Van der Berg and Buckland, 1982). One can argue therefore, that the exclusion of relevant local history content in textbooks contributed to the negative depiction or misrepresentation of Black Africans in history textbooks.

It also emerged from the analysis of the personal narratives of the participants of this study regarding their experience of school history that Black African leaders were often painted negatively or misrepresented in school history textbooks. In other words, the participants of this study viewed school history as a tool that was used to depict Black African leaders as “murderers”; “unintelligent”, “cruel”, “barbaric”; “cowards”; and “dangerous” individuals. This is an indication that a powerful and derogative form of language was used in history textbooks when describing Black Africans. Therefore, the idea of the misrepresentation of Black Africans is illuminatingly conveyed in Thabo’s personal narrative when he stated that “they were showing us in history books half-naked Africans with spears all over and ready to fight. That is the history that was presented to us”. This idea is also conveyed by Nomakhosi who stated that “we knew King Shaka as the most feared and dangerous Zulu leader who did not hesitate to punish and kill his focus”. On a similar note, Madoda’s personal narrative further highlighted that King Shaka had been painted as a cruel leader who was always eager to see “fresh blood in his spear”. Contrary to this, as based on the analysis of the personal narratives, was the depiction of White people as intelligent and heroes in history textbooks. These negative depictions tally well with the discussions in Chapter 2 with reference to the reduction of African heroes into mere murderers (Bottaro, Visser, & Worden, 2005). This is an indication that, the negative representation or depiction of Black African leaders was aimed at creating the notion of Black inferiority amongst learners. Based on the analysis of the personal narratives the negative depiction of Black Africans led to some participants to dislike the subject of history at school, as they were made to believe that there was nothing tangible that they could learn and emulate from their leaders thus creating a perception amongst Black Africans that local history is irrelevant.

Moreover, most participants of this study are of the view that the limited content of local history when they were learners under apartheid is associated with the idea of the irrelevance of local history in the first place. Such irrelevance of local history was evidenced by the fact that issues that affected most of Black African people under

apartheid were overlooked as they did not matter to the ruling White elite. A practical example of this idea of irrelevance of local history content is adequately conveyed by Nomakhosi when she stated that “there was hardly an attempt at looking how loss of land and livestock impacted on the lives of Black African people”. This shows that the lives of the majority of Black Africans did not matter as they were only viewed as mere instruments of cheap labour to White owned enterprises. One can argue therefore that in the main Black African learners learnt a White political economy.

What also emerged from the analysis of the personal narratives regarding the limited content of local history was that focus was put on the study of the traditional leadership and the homeland system. The homeland system contributed to the effective implementation of the apartheid system in that it divided Black African people based on their ethnicities and language thereby making it easy for the Afrikaner nationalists to have dominion over the masses of Black Africans. The idea of traditional leadership and the homelands is illuminatingly conveyed by Phiwe who highlighted that as learners under apartheid they were encouraged to recognise and sing praises of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi who was the leader of the Homeland of KwaZulu. The rationale behind this was to encourage Black African children to identify themselves with homelands and ensuring that they did not think about their lives and future beyond the rural homelands. Thus, making Black Africans vulnerable and submissive to dominion. Therefore, the participants of this study viewed school history under apartheid as off-putting because it played a major role in their oppression.

Besides, another emerging narrative from the personal narratives of the participants regards the deliberate omission of relevant Black African historiography. Such omission relates to successful stories of resistance over White settlers. The example of such success story is adequately conveyed in Fana’s personal narrative when he stated that the heroic victory of the Zulu warriors under the leadership of King Cetshwayo over the British was not taught in class. The omission of such historiography led to many disliking school history because it presented the idea that Black people were inferior and therefore in no way they can defeat a White man. Therefore, this kind of historiography helped to sustain and promote the notion of White supremacy over Black inferiority which led to participants hating the subject of school history at school.

It emerged from the analysis of the personal narratives regarding the struggle for liberation that it was not only omitted but also learners were not allowed to talk about it. That is the suppression of information regarding the struggle for the liberation was to ensure that Black African learners did not know what has happening in the country politically during the apartheid era. For instance, Phiwe and Nomakhosi's personal narratives highlighted that the pictures of the struggle icons Nelson Mandela were prohibited from circulation and learners were discouraged from talking politics. This is an indication that the apartheid authorities tried to deny most Black African learners' access to knowledge as this was the privilege of White people (see Chapter 3). Nomakhosi's personal narrative highlighted that when she stated that "it was the thinking, questioning, resisting pupils who became targets of apartheid security police". This shows that one of the objectives of Bantu Education was to educate submissive and fearful learners towards authorities. Such an environment did not only affect the learners but also their parents who were subjected to abject poverty in the rural homeland. As a result, most of the parents under apartheid could not effectively help or assist their children as far as education was concerned.

6.2.4 Narrative of parental involvement under apartheid

This heading seeks to discuss the participants' experiences regarding their parents' involvement in their education under apartheid. Therefore, the discussions will revolve around the following subthemes of narratives: supportive parents and unsupportive parents.

Most of the participants of this study are of the view that their parents were supportive in their educational journey under apartheid. Based on the analysis of the personal narratives, the support that participants received from their parents differed with regard to their parents' economic situation. That is, while other parents were poor and illiterate they were unable to assist their children – the participants – with their school work and the only thing they could do was to encourage their children to go to school with the hope that one day they will be able to improve their lives through education. For instance, the idea of illiterate parents is adequately conveyed by Madoda when he pointed out that "each time my father came from clinic he would ask me to read for

him the instructions on how to take his medication”. One can argue therefore that the main priority for some of the parents of the participants in sending their children to school was for them to acquire basic knowledge or literacy skills in order to be able to read and write. Also, Thabo’s personal narrative highlights the ideas of being illiterate and living in poverty when he stated that his Std 4 father would sell some of his goats for his education. This shows that some parents of the participants showed their help in different ways and was limited to encouraging their children rather than helping them with school-work and career choices. This shows that the lack of expectation was manifest especially regarding school history, partly because the parents of the participants were mainly illiterate and most of them were peasants and domestic workers who hardly understood what was going on in their children’s schools. The idea of lack of awareness at the schools of their children is illuminatingly conveyed in Themba’s personal narrative when he stated that “it looks as if our parents were dumping us at school and that the teachers would then take care of us”. It also emerged from the analysis of the personal narratives that some other parents of the participants who were better off were able to guide their children and support their education until university level. The example of such supportive parents, as based on the narratives of the participants, are illuminated in the narratives of Menzi and Phiwe. Both the parents of Menzi and Phiwe not only supported their children towards university but they also influenced them to become teachers. This shows that because of the context in which they lived the parents of the participants disregarded the pre-determined professions intended for Black African learners (see 6.2.2). This shows that those parents who were more affluent under apartheid had relatively high expectations for their children and were able to send them to university.

Also, what emerged from the analysis of the personal narratives with regard to parental involvement is that some participants are of the view that their parents were too poor to send them to school and to assist them in their school-work. For instance, Themba’s personal narrative highlighted that apart from being poor and illiterate his parents came home too tired to assist in school-work. Similarly, the personal narrative of Fana also highlighted that his parents were too poor to send him to school, which is evidenced by the fact that he only began attending school when he was much older. Based on the analysis of Fana’s personal narrative it was after years of suffering and

looking after cattle that Fana aged 13 managed to enrol himself at school. He stated that his main objective for going to school was learning how to read and write. Such narratives show that parental involvement depended on the socio-economic class of parents. Also, the analysis of the personal narratives of the participants revealed that some parents because of their socio-economic status were not practically involved and monitoring what was happening at the schools of their children. This notion of quasi-lack of interest regarding the education of children is adequately conveyed in Sindis' narrative when she stated that "in my schooling days I do not remember the practice of parents coming to attend school meetings at school". This is an indication that, the apparent lack of interest of some of the parents of the participants in the education of their children under apartheid, was not necessarily their problem but was caused by other factors such as illiteracy, poverty and lack of opportunities.

In conclusion, the discussions in Section "A" showed that the participants have a vivid memory about their experience of school history and school days in general under apartheid. As per discussions in Section "A", school history was used as part of government instrument that sought to promote both Afrikaner and White supremacist ideology. For instance, the emphasis on events that were celebrated by White nationalists meant that the Black African learners were made to think of themselves as insignificant. This is an indication that the limited local history content (with focus on Mfecane wars, traditional leadership and the homelands) under apartheid as highlighted in the personal narratives, was to support the White supremacist view that local content was not that significant in comparison to Western history. In order to effectively inculcate the notion of White supremacy and Black inferiority, as shown in the personal narratives, the government adopted rote learning which placed emphasis on memorisation of facts which was often accompanied by corporal punishment mainly if learners had failed to memorise. In addition, such pedagogical methods did not allow critical questioning in class. The lack of critical discussion in the history classroom reveals how the biased history syllabus was meant to prepare Black African learners not only to be fearful of Whites but also to know that their place is exclusively in the homelands where they would later be absorbed as farm labourers and mine workers.

One can argue therefore that these infective pedagogical methods hardly inspired learners as they felt that there was too much control of what was being taught and

how learners were expected to learn. Black African learners had difficulty accessing knowledge through school history which was the objective of the White minority government to educate them to be passive and submissive. For instance, the focus on tradition leadership and the homelands was evidence of how the Bantu Education system which was only meant for Black Africans was designed to advance the economic policy of apartheid. In other words, the rationale behind this was to maximise the manpower and supply of cheap labour to the detriment of Black African learners' aspirations and goals for the future. This argument tallies with the discussions in Chapter 3 regarding the notion of Whiteness as property where education was solely a privilege for White children. After this section, I move on to focus on the Section B discussions.

6.3 SECTION B: Personal Narratives related to school history in the post - apartheid South Africa

This section seeks to discuss themes that emerged from the participants' narratives which relate to their experiences of apartheid when they were learners and their current experiences in post-apartheid as parents. Therefore, the participants of this study in looking back at their lives when they were learners during apartheid, and now as adults/parents are in a position of power and must make decisions regarding schooling and what would they want for their children as far as careers are concerned. This section is divided into four sub-sections namely: narrative of life experience in the post-apartheid era; narrative of education experience in the post-apartheid era; narrative of experience of school history in the post-apartheid era; and narrative of parental involvement in the post-apartheid era.

6.3.1 Narrative of life experience in the post-apartheid era

The first sub-theme of this section seeks to discuss participants' life experiences as parents in the post-apartheid era concerning the schooling of their children. Therefore, in order to have a comprehensive understanding of the life experience in post-apartheid this section will focus on participants' experiences, as parents now, in relation to the schooling environment of their children in the post-apartheid era. The

discussions in this section will revolve around the following narratives that emerged from the stories told: narrative of a wide-range of opportunities for learners; and opportunities for parents.

All the participants of this study revealed in their personal narratives that the post-apartheid era was characterised by the existence of a wide-range of opportunities for themselves and their children and learners in general. The participants of this study further revealed that the present political context is the complete opposite to what they experienced when they were learners during the apartheid era. Based on the analysis of the personal narratives, the participants of this study highlighted that their life experience as learners back then was characterised by difficulties and despair which led to many of their peers dropping-out of school. The idea of the existence of various opportunities in the post-apartheid era is adequately conveyed in Madoda's personal narrative when he stated that "I feel now that my children could have a taste of the side that I never had, the opportunities that I never dream of". In addition, regarding opportunities Madoda stressed that "what I teach my children is what I know and I will never teach them what I don't know. So, I will push them to take advantage of the opportunities available for their benefit and well-being in future". This is an indication that, contrary to the experiences of the participants under apartheid, present learners in general and the children of the participants are in their view exposed to a life of opportunities as far as schooling is concerned. One can argue therefore that looking back at their own lives the participants of this study realise how unfortunate they had been when they were learners under apartheid. That is, the system had made a deliberate decision to exclude and undermine most Black Africans by means of an inferior education with limited or no opportunities for them. The rationale was to have as many Black Africans as possible to abandon school thereby serving and working for White-owned industries.

It was also revealed from the analysis of the personal narratives of the participants of this study that during the apartheid era there were no sport-orientated careers particularly for Black African learners. Based on the analysis of the personal narratives life situation under apartheid was generally difficult which was evidenced by the fact that sporting codes were also organised according to racial lines. For instance, it was highlighted in the personal narrative of Themba that the common sporting codes for

Black African learners under apartheid included soccer, netball and athletics. While, on the other hand, rugby and tennis were reserved for White learners. Therefore, based on the analysis of the personal narratives these sporting codes were played as mere pastime or entertainment without any prospects for the future. Themba further noted that “the idea behind this was to limit even the manner in which we could unleash out talent”. It is important to note that, in general sporting facilities in Black schools were almost non-existent thus creating an impression that a Black child cannot swim or cannot play tennis, or any other sporting code found in White schools. Contrary to this difficult experience, in post-apartheid era learners can now pursue sports as a career thus providing a balanced and conducive environment for learners to compete regardless of their race. Therefore, the education system in the post-apartheid era has opened doors for everyone particularly for the previously disadvantaged Black Africans.

It also emerged from the personal narratives of the participants regarding life experience in the post-apartheid era that opportunities did not only come for learners, but they also came for the working class. For instance, it was revealed in the analysis of the personal narratives that some participants abandoned their teaching and nursing professions in order to open their own businesses thus taking advantage of the existing opportunities. Therefore, the idea of taking advantage of the existing opportunities in the post-apartheid era is highlighted in the personal narrative of Thembeke when she pointed out that with dawn of the democratic dispensation in South Africa she resigned as a nurse and ventured into the construction business considered to be a male dominated industry. Similarly, Themba also abandoned his teaching profession and went to establish a small construction company after 1994. One can argue therefore that such a professional detour was aimed at improving their life situation since under apartheid most Black Africans could only pursue pre-determined professions which the state had earmarked for them (see 6.2.2).

6.3.2 Narrative of experience of education in the post-apartheid era

This section seeks to discuss the participants’ experience of post-apartheid education in relation to their children’s career choices after matriculation. The discussions under

this section revolve around the following subthemes or narratives: prosperity and status; and acknowledgment of children's ability and freedom of choice.

What emerged from the analysis of the personal narratives regarding prosperity and status in view of the participants' children's career choices is that most of the participants are of the view that mathematics and science subjects are the key for success and prosperity for their children. It is important to note that such a view could be linked to government's position in promoting these subjects and its proclamation that the country is in dire need of scientists, engineers, and technicians. All these fields it was argued require some expertise in mathematics and science. This notion of prosperity is appropriately highlighted in the personal narrative of Fana when he stated that "such professions provided better remuneration than pursuing a career in history for instance". This tallies with the discussions in Chapter 2 with reference to the shortage of technical skills in the country. In other words, the participants of this study viewed the post-apartheid education as an opportune moment for their children to pursue careers in elite professional fields such as "engineering", "medicine", "accounting" as well as "quantity surveyor" as these fields and many others were pre-1994 beyond reach for most Black African learners including the participants of this study. The rationale was to create inequality and limited epistemological access amongst Black Africans thus perpetuating the notion of Black inferiority and White supremacy. Therefore, based on the analysis of the personal narratives most participants of this study have highlighted that their children ought to do mathematics and science related subjects in order to succeed. This idea of prosperity and status is illuminatingly conveyed in Fana's personal narrative when he highlighted that mathematics and science subjects "were linked to status and better paying jobs which was what many Black African parents wanted for their children since they had been disadvantaged themselves". In support of this idea is Thabo who stated that "we would like to see our children get better jobs and succeed in life and not be like us who did not have opportunities". Moreover, in support of the same idea is Themba who stressed that "When I began working as a teacher, I told myself that I will have to channel my child to become a medical practitioner because I did not have the chance or opportunity myself". This is an indication that the subject selection by most of the participants for their children is done in view of the existing opportunities which the parents (participants) did not have when they were learners under apartheid. It is

important to note that so often the subject selections are not done in accordance to the potential and ability of the child or learner but for the satisfaction and fulfilment of the parent.

It was also revealed from the analysis of the personal narratives of the participants of this study that parents need to acknowledge their children's ability and freedom of choice. Some participants are of the view that pressure is placed on children (learners) by parents who consciously disregard their children's ability as well as their freedom of choice. Based on the analysis of the personal narratives of the participants, so often the imposition of parents' subject choices impacted negatively on the performance of most children who consequently are obliged to take other subjects such as history as a last resort. For instance, Phiwe in her personal narrative highlighted that the overemphasis on mathematics and science subjects led to many drop-outs in these subjects. The idea of acknowledging learners' abilities and freedom of choice is adequately conveyed by Londeka who stated that "my view is that children need to be encouraged to do any subject they are comfortable with, provided that they are in line with what they want to become in future".

6.3.3 Narrative of experience of school history in the post-apartheid era

Based on the personal narratives of the participants of this study regarding their experience of school history in the post-apartheid era, they are of the view that the school history curriculum improved significantly by including local content that was never taught under apartheid such as the struggle for liberation. However, it was not good enough for most parents to allow their children to do school history in the post-apartheid context due to parents' prior experience of history as learners under apartheid and their experience as parents now in the democracy. Therefore, the discussions under this theme will revolve around the following subthemes or narratives: relevance of school history; triumph; and irrelevance of school history in the post-apartheid era.

Most of the participants of this study are of the view that history is a relevant subject in society. Based on the analysis of the personal narratives of the participants of this study it provided relevant that everyone ought to learn the subject of history at school.

However, such a notion is challenged by the fact that mathematics and science subjects are highly favoured. The idea of relevance of school history is adequately conveyed in the personal narrative of Menzi who stated that “history provides us with lessons that we have got to learn as we move into the future. If you don’t know where you come from, you don’t know where you are going”. This argument shows that through history learners and people in general can create a sense of national pride and identity for all. One can argue therefore that such a positive view of school history is contrary to the participants’ experience of school history as learners under apartheid where they view it as a means used to undermine their dignity and integrity. Thus, making the school history syllabus in the post-apartheid era to be viewed by the participants as improved or triumphant.

What also emerged from the analysis of the personal narratives regarding school history in the post-apartheid era is the theme of triumph. Based on the analysis of the personal narratives, the participants of this study looking back at their experience of school history as learners under apartheid are of the view that the post-apartheid school history curriculum constitutes a triumph in that the content that learners are exposed to is both inclusive and reflective of South African history. The idea of a triumphant school history curriculum is highlighted in the personal narrative of Thabo when he stated that “today learners can learn about the struggle against apartheid and how the blacks fought and resisted the oppressive system”. This idea is similarly conveyed in Themba’s personal narrative when he stated that “our history now is something that is quite interesting and does not dehumanise me, but instead makes me regain my humanity and confidence”. This idea tallies with the discussions in Chapter 3 that one of the roles of CRT is to empower the disadvantaged groups in society. Therefore, it is important to note that the post-apartheid school history curriculum constitutes triumph over apartheid school history which promoted White supremacy because the participants of this study during the apartheid era when they were learners were only exposed to Afrikaner and White supremacist ideology which relegated the local history content and Black African leaders to inconsequential status (see 6.2.3). Such inconsequential status accorded to local history content coupled with the dynamics of market-driven economy under the ANC-led administration school history was viewed as irrelevant in the post-apartheid era. In other words, as per analysis of the personal narratives, most participants revealed that school history was

good to study but however not good for their children. Though they viewed it as a triumph and were happy with its curriculum development they do not prefer it for their children because of its perceived irrelevance in an environment where elite professional fields are promoted.

Based on the personal narratives of the participants of this study regarding their views of school history, as parents, in the post-apartheid era, they revealed that school history was irrelevant or not good enough for the demands of the market-driven economy. It is important to note that, though most participants viewed school history as relevant for the establishment of national identity and national pride however they stressed that school history could not ensure job security and guarantee prosperity for their children under the current political landscape. The idea of irrelevance of school history is illuminatingly conveyed in the personal narrative of Thabo when he stated that “it was challenging for most parents to allow their children for instance to pursue history because since history did not help them in the past it will not help their children now when there are many opportunities”. A similar view is also expressed by Phiwe when she stated “for me history is non-existent and what would you do with history, because with it you just become a teacher and what else”? This position is an indication that Black African parents, learners back then, were limited as far as professional career and choices were concerned and teaching was one of the common professions earmarked for most Black Africans. I would argue therefore that the participants looking back at their difficult life experience characterised by lack of opportunities under apartheid find the post-apartheid era as an opportune moment for them as parents now to encourage or persuade their children to see the future through their eyes.

Based on the analysis of personal narratives of the participants the idea of irrelevance of school history is linked to the participants’ negative experience of school history under apartheid. It also emerged from the analysis of the personal narratives that the negative view of school history in the post-apartheid era was due to the fact that the ANC-led government placed emphasis on mathematics and science related subjects thus relegating school history to the periphery. For instance, this was evidenced by its inclusion in lower grades under the banner of social sciences thus failing to promote the subject of school history. Therefore, this idea of lack of government support or

promotions of school history is illuminatingly conveyed in the personal narrative of Themba when he stated that the government “was not doing enough in promoting our history while the Afrikaners did promote theirs so well during apartheid”. One can argue therefore, that the relegation of school history to the periphery contributed to most participants not to consider it as an option for their children at school. Thus, persuading their children to select subjects deemed as relevant such as maths and science, for them to be able to pursue better paying careers thereby compromising children or learners’ goals through parents’ relived childhood dreams.

6.3.4 Narrative of parental involvement in the post-apartheid era

This section seeks to discuss the participants’ experiences or views regarding their involvement as parents in the education of their children in the post-apartheid era. It is necessary to note that, the participants of this study are members of the middle class and with children at the high school level. Therefore, such a position makes them not only interested in the education of their children but also involved in terms of the subject selection and career orientation for them. It is also necessary to note that, the participants of this study have both the apartheid and post-apartheid life experiences and it is through such an understanding of these contextual historical periods that the participants, looking back at their lives as learners under apartheid and now as parents in the post-apartheid era, find themselves in a position of power thus making decisions for their children as informed by these two contradictory history periods. Therefore, the discussions in this section will revolve around the following subthemes or narratives: subject selection and monitoring; and conflict of interest between parents and children (learners).

Most participants of this study have revealed that they are involved in the education of their children, by advising them to select certain subjects deemed as important in view of their future careers. As per the analysis of the personal narratives of the participants it was also revealed that the participants of this study had closer supervision and monitoring to ensure that their children followed the subjects that the parents advised them to select. This idea of subject selection and monitoring by parents is conveyed in the personal narrative of Madoda who stated that “my concern was to see if the

teachers or the school did not impose on my children subjects that would not match with the advice that I gave to my children in view of the careers after matric". This is an indication that most parents based on the analysis of the personal narratives are more aware of the educational dynamics as opposed to their own parents under apartheid who were mainly peasants and illiterate. It is important to note that so often the parental decision with regard to subject and career choices impact on their children's interest and abilities thus leading to poor performance on the imposed subjects and forcing children to opt to choose other subjects as a last resort. In other words, such parental involvement tends to supersede learners' interests and capabilities on given subjects. For instance, the idea of parents overriding their children's ambitions and choices is illuminatingly highlighted in the personal narrative of Menzi when he stated that he could not allow his daughter to pursue a career in teaching because she came from a family of teachers (father and grandparents) and that she needed to pursue other professions such as civil engineering.

Considering the above I would argue therefore that the teaching profession under apartheid was not an option but one of the common professions that few Black Africans could afford to pursue. Therefore, based on the analysis of the personal narratives most parents are of the view that their children should select science stream subjects including mathematics so that are able to pursue careers in fields such as civil engineering; medicine; accounting; and architectural studies. That is, as per the analysis of the personal narratives, of most Black Africans under apartheid who were denied the chance to pursue such fields of interest as they were reserved for White learners. Moreover, based on the analysis of the personal narratives most parents are of the view that it is better for them to persuade their children to pursue such fields of interest on their behalf. For instance, Themba's personal narrative supports this view by stating that "we had high aims as well, but we failed to achieve them. Now that we have kids, we want them to achieve those goals for us, we are pushing them". One can argue therefore that such a position by parents regarding the revitalisation of their childhood dreams led to conflict of interest between parents and children.

It also emerged from analysis of the personal narratives of the participants of this study that the participants' insistence for their children to do certain subjects regardless of their inclination and aptitude leads to conflict of interest between parents and children.

It is important to note that the conflict of interest is rooted in the participants' childhood experience of lack of opportunities and career guidance under apartheid which served to disempower most Black African learners with the view of creating a mass-base of subservient Black Africans. Therefore, the idea of conflict of interest between parents and children is appropriately stated in the personal narrative of Sindi when she pointed out that "the main issue we face as parents is that of status and better life, as opposed to what my child is capable of doing or love as far as subjects as concerned". On a similar note, Themba's personal narrative further highlights this idea of conflict when he stated that "whatever we ought to be, if we failed in our time in what we were interested in we tend to make our children do what we failed to do". This shows that parents now in the position of power or control over their children tend to persuade their children to see the future through their eyes who when as learners under apartheid did not only lack opportunities but most importantly could not realise their dream careers because of the system that did not favour them. One can argue that since the participants of this study were disempowered in the past by means of Bantu education, in the post-apartheid era with the promotion of access to quality education for all that seeks to empower learners, particularly the previously disadvantaged, with skills in various fields of interests parents find themselves making decisions for their children as informed by their past experiences thus compromising the future prospects of their children. This tallies with the discussions in Chapter 3 that CRT does not only focus on the plight of the oppressed and the marginalised but also seeks to empower them.

The discussions under this section (Section B) revolved around the participants' narratives in relation to their experience or views – now as parents - of school history and schooling in general in the post-apartheid era, which is characterised by a wide-range of opportunities.

Based on the analysis of the personal narratives, the participants of this study were disadvantaged under apartheid in that they had limited professions earmarked for them. These included teaching, nursing, police, social work, and clerical work. The rationale behind this was to ensure that they did not compete with the Whites in other professions that were ranked as prominent such as engineering and mathematics. However, now in the post-apartheid era, the participants of this study, who are now

parents, reflect on their lives as learners back then in relation to the current environment of their children who are learners in the post-apartheid era. That is, as they reminisced at their unrealised goals or dreams, they find themselves not only guiding their children but also imposing their unrealised careers on their children thus compromising with their own prospects of the future and aptitude. In other words, most of the participants of this study are now reluctant to allow their children to do history as they see it as a subject that would not guarantee their children a bright future and prosperity. The next chapter focusses on the discussion findings.

6.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, I analysed and discussed the storied narratives of the participants. The storied narratives express and reflect Black African parents' experiences of school history and their school experience in general during the apartheid and post-apartheid eras in South Africa. Therefore, the analysis and discussions in this chapter led to the main findings of this research. Moreover, based on the findings of this research most of the participants expressed that their experience of school history was off-putting which led to some of them as well as their peers not to like school history. The off-putting was mainly due to the ineffective pedagogical methods used at the time such as rote learning and memorising which was often accompanied by corporal punishment for those who failed to memorise but also for administrative purposes. Another aspect brought by the participants was the fact that school history content was distorted and often misrepresented the Black African leaders such as King Shaka Zulu as a murderer and bloodthirsty individual. In the next chapter I analyse and discuss the findings of Chapter 6 in order to make meaning of the answer to the second question by integrating the reviewed literature, the Critical Race Theory (CRT) that underpins the study and the context in which the participants' experiences evolved.

CHAPTER 7

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

School history has not received the same attention as science and mathematics in post 1994 and was to a large extent side-lined by curriculum 2005 and OBE (Kallaway, 2012, p.23)

7.1 Introduction

In Chapter 6 of this study, I analysed the personal narratives of the research participants. The analyses led to the emergence of various themes or narratives that the participants have had about their schooling experience during the apartheid era, particularly their experience of school history. In the first section of this chapter, I move on to discuss the findings presented in the previous chapter in order to make meaning of the answer to the second critical research question which was proposed in the previous chapter. In the process of discussion, I use the literature, the theory that underpins this study (CRT) as well as the context within which the participants' experiences have evolved over the years as explained in Chapter 1. Since the objective of this study was to propose answers to the two main questions: What are the narratives of Black African parents as they relate to school history in both apartheid and post-apartheid South Africa? And, how do their narratives explain why their children do or do not do school history? In the second part of this chapter I present the theorisation section.

Before I can begin with discussions of the findings, I took a conscious decision to present a summary of the major findings of this research project. The major findings emerged from the analysis of the personal narratives of the participants of this study in the previous chapter as well as in Chapter 5. Therefore, the discussions in this section will revolve around the following major findings: Black African parents viewed apartheid as an evil system; Education under apartheid was viewed as a tool of oppression; History education under apartheid was viewed as a memory discipline; History education under apartheid was viewed as meaningless; Black African learners

under apartheid had a negative attitude towards School History ; Black African parents' expectations for their children in the post-apartheid era; and Black African parents admit history education curriculum has changed since apartheid. In order to provide a coherent discussion of the findings, I will highlight how the literature, the theory and the context of the participants' lived experiences explains or fails to explain the findings as outlined.

7.2 Discussion of Findings

7.2.1 Black African parents viewed apartheid as a monstrous and evil system

One of the major findings that emerged from the analysis of the personal narratives of the participants is that apartheid is viewed as an evil and monstrous system. As highlighted in the personal narratives of the participants, the system of apartheid did not only impact negatively on the lives of most Black Africans, but it also ensured that they lived in abject poverty with great difficulties. The difficulties experienced by most Black Africans were intertwined with apartheid policies of segregation which were meant to disempower and oppress Black Africans in all aspects of life. Noted in Chapter 1, was Morrow's (1990) contention that apartheid has dehumanised its victims; their dignity and self-esteem as persons, and their intellectual and moral confidence and autonomy, have been damagingly undermined. This shows that through segregation policies the White minority managed to establish control and dominance over most Black Africans who were condemned to live in abject poverty in the homelands or townships. As a result, the interests of most Black Africans were neglected thus creating adequate conditions for servitude and inferiority. Most participants of the study highlighted that life in the homelands was difficult. As emphasised in the personal narratives and the findings, the difficulties and evilness experienced by the participants came in different ways, such as inadequate infrastructure, underqualified staff in schools and an overall disadvantaged background. The difficulties identified by the participants tallied with those identified in Chapter 1, (Christie & Gordon, 1992).

Also, another major finding that emerged from the analysis of the personal narratives was that most of the participants of the study stated that their parents had very limited expectations for them because of the context in which they lived. They also stated that most of their parents were illiterate and lived in poverty in the Homelands hence the notion of apartheid being viewed as a monstrous and evil system. This suggests that one of the objectives of apartheid education was to ensure that by means of Bantu Education Black Africans responded effectively to the growing labour demands of apartheid capitalist economy based on farming, mining and industry. As stated in Chapter 1, Zungu (1977) highlighted that Bantu Education was based on the principle of separateness of the two major racial groups and preparation of Africans for a subservient role in the society. In addition, Clark and Worger (2004) were quoted to have stated that under apartheid a Black African person must be guided to serve his community. Within his own community, however all doors are open. For that reason, it is of no avail for him to receive a training which has its aim absorption in a White community, where in a Verwoerdian sense he cannot be absorbed. Similarly, Zungu (1977) explained that the system of education for Black Africans should make them fit their subordinate role in the society. This shows it was an education system driven to enhance racial inequality between Whites and Black Africans as opposed to creating an environment for equal access to quality education for all. This is linked with the notion of curriculum as intellectual property (Chapman, 2013), in that the system worked hard to ensure that Black African learners remained marginalised and less competent in relation to their White counterparts thereby justifying Black Africans' inferiority and subservient status. It follows that most of the parents of the participants were not only illiterate but also lived in poverty-stricken homelands which were deliberately created as reliable sources of cheap labour to White businesses such as farming and the mining industries.

Therefore, as highlighted in the personal narratives and the findings, the main concern for some parents of the participants in sending their children to school was at least to acquire basic knowledge, and be able to read and write. For instance, Madoda's narrative highlighted that each time his father came from the clinic he would ask him to read for him the instructions on how to take his medication. As stated in Chapters 5 and 6, because of such situations some of the parents of the participants were unable to send their children (the participants) to universities due to poverty. As stated in the

narratives and the findings, most of the participants affirmed that they had wanted to pursue courses such as medicine, engineering, accounting and legal studies at university level, but because the system had deliberately limited opportunities for Black African children led them not to materialise their dream careers. Also, the lack of financial power was another factor. As a result, they were circumstantially forced to choose from some of the common professions earmarked for Black Africans during apartheid such as teaching, and police service. Therefore, such a contextual situation proved apartheid to be a monstrous and evil system for Black African parents and their peers who were also exposed to an oppressive form of education system.

7.3 Education under apartheid is viewed as a tool of oppression

Another major finding that emerged from the analysis of the personal narratives of the participants is that education under apartheid was viewed as a tool of oppression. As highlighted in the personal narratives of the participants, the education system for Black Africans during apartheid was of inferior quality or substandard in nature. Such a form of education was used to create antagonistic power relations between White supremacy and Black inferiority. In other words, the education system was used to oppress most Black African learners by deliberately denying them access to quality education and opportunities associated with it. In Chapter 2, Johnson (1982) is cited to highlight the fact that the Bantu Education system was used as an instrument to win the fight against the Black Africans in the classroom and not in the battlefield. Also as noted in Chapter 2 was Walker and Archung's (2003) contention that the education for Black Africans was embedded in a system of racial segregation designed to promote Whites into leadership, land ownership, and economic control, and on the other hand, to doom the Blacks to subservience. The idea of an oppressive education system is adequately conveyed by Said (1978) when he stated that dominance and control of Afrikaners over Black Africans can be viewed as a form of internal colonisation since the power relations established were unevenly distributed between Whites and Blacks thus cementing the notion of White supremacy versus Black inferiority. The participants of this study had to experience subjugation or difficulties associated with this form of internal colonisation whose main aim was to reduce most of the Black African community, mentally and physically, into a Biblical sense as hewers of wood

and drawers of water (Christie, 1988), thus establishing a passive and submissive pool of Black Africans to White domination. I argue therefore, that in order to ensure a submissive Black African learner, Afrikaner nationalists also made use of history education to further create racial differences through a collective memory that favoured White nationalists and their victorious history to the detriment of Black Africans who were denied their history.

7.4 History education under apartheid was viewed as a memory discipline

One of the major findings that emerged from the analysis of the personal narratives regarding history education under apartheid was that history was viewed as a memory discipline. Based on the analysis of the personal narratives, the participants of the study highlighted that school history under apartheid was used as a tool to promote and defend the interests of the White community in South Africa. In support of this view, literature reviewed in Chapter 2 revealed that school history was used to validate the nationalist's policies as well as their position of power by appealing to their interpretation (Van der Berg & Buckland, 1982). Noted in Chapter 2, was Siebörger's (2008) contention that if the ruling elite is able to make people believe in their inferiority, obliterate their history or present it in manner that they feel shameful of themselves then they create the conditions that make it easy to dominate the people. That is, the rationale behind for the exclusive school history curriculum was to create a desired collective memory and identity amongst the Afrikaner people at the expense of most Black Africans whose history was deliberately ignored or undermined.

As highlighted in the personal narratives, the school history curriculum under apartheid focussed on Western and Afrikaner historiography which placed emphasis on major Afrikaner historical events such as the Great Trek, the Anglo-Boer War as well as other historical facts deemed important such as the arrival in South Africa of Jan van Riebeeck and White settlers in 1652. Literature reviewed in Chapter 2 further showed that the exclusive Afrikaner historiography helped cement a sense of belonging and pride amongst the White populace (Kukard, 2017). Subsequently, most Black African learners had to learn White supremacist historiography which was meant to establish a collective memory for the ruling Afrikaner nationalists. To this end, stories conveying

messages of White heroism, bravery and self-determination were evident in history textbooks during the apartheid era. One can argue therefore that such promotion of Afrikaner collective memory and identity was done at the expense of most Black Africans whose history was considered to be non-existent or irrelevant.

In other words, Black African or Radical historiography was marginalised, and the little content that made it into history textbooks depicted Black African people and their leaders in a negative note as criminals and outsiders. This tallies with Wassermann's (2017) argument as explained in Chapter 1 that most Black African learners had to learn history in which they were not considered as citizens of the country and only appeared on the fringes of society as troublemakers. As a result, most Black African learners, including the participants of this study, developed a negative attitude towards school history in that it did not only exclude them from White master narrative or collective memory, but also undermined the integrity and self-esteem of Black Africans. The participants of this study had to experience such a negative content of history which hardly recognised their history and existence.

Another major finding that emerged regarding school history as a memory discipline was that of the ineffective fundamental pedagogics CNE orientated pedagogical methods which were used to teach history during apartheid. Based on the personal narratives, the participants of this study highlighted that rote learning and memorisation were the main methods used in the classrooms. For instance, the narratives of Phiwe, Nomakhosi and Sindi stressed the idea of not being allowed to ask or engage in critical questions in the lessons. In Chapter 2 Weldon (1992) was quoted to have stated that education for Black African learners emphasised rote learning and discouraged learners from critical engagement in class. Consequently, Black Africans were expected to memorise and regurgitate the historical narratives handed down to them without critically analysing them, in order to ensure that the position of the ruling class through the established collective memory is preserved and remained unchallenged. In support of this view is Swartz's (1992) argument as unpacked in Chapter 3 that master scripts silence multiple voices and perspectives, legitimising dominant, White upper-class as the standard knowledge students need to know. Also, In Chapter 2, Clark and Worger (2004) were quoted to have stated that the purpose of education for Black Africans was to train and teach them in accordance

with their opportunities in the rural homelands where they lived. This shows that the education for Black African learners during apartheid was not meant to empower them but on the contrary to suppress their prospects of a brighter future by means of a substandard form of education. Therefore, these pedagogical methods were tools of indoctrination and historical thinking which were aimed at instilling compliance and submissiveness amongst most Black African learners while on the other hand promoting an idea of superiority and pride amongst White learners.

Therefore, school history as a memory discipline particularly for White learners, constituted a major stumbling block for most Black African learners to access the knowledge that would equip them with necessary skills thus being equal contenders with their White counterparts. Expressed in another way, as stressed in the findings, the education for Black Africans was Homeland orientated to strategically maintain them in such underdeveloped areas with no opportunities thus susceptible to exploitation as cheap labour in the farms and mining industries. As explained in Chapter 1, Birley (1968) emphasised that in their first year in the higher primary school Black African learners were taught a child's duties in the home, the village and family, next year they learnt about tribal ties; in the next standard they learnt more about tribal and Bantu organisations. Similarly, in Chapter 2, Du Preez and Home (1983) emphasised that Bantu Education also aimed to produce a semi-skilled Black labour force to minister to the needs of the capitalist economy, to socialize Black students so that they could accept the social relations of apartheid as natural, to accept the supposed superiority of Whites and their inferiority, to promote the acceptance of racial or ethnic separation as the natural order of things, and to promote Black intellectual underdevelopment by minimizing the allocation of educational resources for Blacks while maximizing those for Whites. This tallies with the notion of Whiteness as property (Hirald, 2015) which is one of the tenets of CRT. It highlights that government institutions including education are a property of the ruling elite, and worked to promote the interests and privileges of the White people. This was the case in apartheid South Africa where the White minority had all the privileges and position of power in all spheres of life, in particular economic and political power. Based on the analysis of personal narratives the negative experience of school history under apartheid led to most participants viewing it as a meaningless subject.

7.5 History education viewed as meaningless under apartheid

Another major finding that emerged from the analysis of the personal narratives regarding history education under apartheid was viewed as educationally and academically meaningless. The analysis of the personal narratives, revealed that school history during apartheid was used in the promotion of the Afrikaner identity and hegemony at the expense of Black African and Radical historiography. In support of this view is Engelbrecht's (2006) argument in Chapter 1 that school history was effectively used to justify both Afrikaner dominion and the unwavering spirit for self-determination. In other words, the ruling nationalists crafted a school history curriculum that focussed on Afrikaner-centred European perspective which mainly advanced White interest while on the other hand neglected the interests of Black African people (Engelbrecht, 2008). This shows that with this kind of autocratic perspective, most Black Africans were exposed to a White supremacist historiography with which they could hardly identify themselves. Also, in Chapter 2 Wassermann (2015) was quoted to have stated that school history contributed to the creation of two distinct racialized identities for White and Black learners. The former socialised and acculturated into a world of social, political and privilege and the latter into a world of subservience and subjugation by means of Bantu Education with no history of their own. The participants of the study had to go through such a destructive educational and academic experience thus leading them to view history education as meaningless. This links therefore with the notion of racism as a social construct which is another tenet of CRT which states that racism is social reality and is entrenched in people's daily lives thus making it difficult to address or eliminate it.

The notion that Whites were superior and Blacks were inferior was meant to prepare Black Africans to believe that they were lesser human beings in relation to their White counterparts. Thus, Black Africans could not claim equality with the Afrikaner. Besides, the idea that South Africa belongs to the Afrikaners was to endorse the claim of the God-given right to rule and control South Africa while most Black Africans were earmarked in remote areas with no adequate facilities in the Homelands. In Chapter 2, (Dean and Siebörger, 1995) were quoted to have stated that school history was the cornerstone of the NP's policy of CNE to conform to an Afrikaner nationalist viewpoint and incorporate its major symbols. The supremacist symbols were off-putting and

meaningless to many Black African learners as they felt ostracised and marginalised thereby leading to some learners disliking the subject of history at school. As a result, one can argue that, a problematic and civic identity was created amongst Black African learners because they did not know where they belonged except that they were used as cheap labour in the White-owned enterprises and industries.

Also, the analysis of the personal narratives and the findings show that the participants viewed school history as educationally and academically meaningless because it was full of distorted content. As highlighted in the narratives of Fana, Sindi and Thabo Black African parents were taught the history of South Africa began with the arrival of Jan van Riebeeck and the White settlers in 1652. Therefore, the participants' experience of distorted historical facts tallied with those identified in the literature review Chapter (Van der Berg and Buckland, 1982). Besides, as highlighted in the personal narratives and the findings, revealed that participants viewed school history as educationally and academically meaningless because Black Africans were misrepresented and belittled in history textbooks. As highlighted in the narratives of Madoda, Menzi, Themba, and Thabo as well as in the findings, school history was meaningless for the participants and their peers mainly because Black African leaders were deliberately depicted or portrayed in history textbooks as murderers, barbaric, cowards and unintelligent. Based on the analysis of the personal narratives of the participants, the content on local history emphasised mainly negative events characterised by the Mfecane that involved various African tribes and chiefdoms in the region of Southern Africa.

For instance, the story of Thabo highlighted that as learners back then they were shown in history books, half-naked African leaders carrying spears. Similarly, the story of Madoda emphasised that the image they had of King Shaka was that of a cruel and heartless person who was always ready to kill. In support of these findings, Bottaro, Visser and Worden (2005) were quoted to have stated that African history was amusing, we sat motionless and listened attentively. The ancestral heroes of our fathers, the great chiefs who our parents told stories about, were in class described as blood-thirsty animal brutes: Shaka the brilliant general who welded the Mnguni tribes into a unified and powerful Zulu nation, the greatest war machine in South African history, was described as psychopath. Also noted in this regard was Van der Berg and Buckland's (1982) contention that the history of the Black person in this

country was most disappointing to read. It was presented merely as a long succession of defeats, while the Xhosa were viewed as thieves who went to war for stolen property. Great nation-builders like Shaka are cruel tyrants who frequently attacked smaller tribes for no reason but for some sadistic purpose. The participants of this study had to experience such negative experiences of school history which led them to view history education as educationally meaningless because they could not identify themselves in it.

Another major finding that emerged from the analysis of the personal narratives regarding history education was that relevant historical information about success stories or victories of Black Africans over White settlers was deliberately omitted or not taught in classrooms. For instance, as stated in the story of Fana the victory of King Cetshwayo over the British, at the Battle of Isandlwana, was never taught in history lessons. This shows that it was a deliberate omission as White supremacists did not want to present a heroic picture of Black Africans over the White settlers because the former had been classified as inferior beings. In Chapter 3, Ladson – Billings' (1998) contention is that, so often the voices of individuals classified as inferior are either misrepresented or excluded from the mainstream curriculum in order to perpetuate the dominant perspectives in school. The participants of this study went through such negative experiences of school history when they were learners during the apartheid era. Expressed in another way, through such omission and misrepresentation of the local history was to further cement the notion of curriculum as intellectual property for the Whites (see Chapter 3).

On the other hand, as highlighted in the narrative of Fana, the defeats of Black Africans by White settlers were prominently documented in history textbooks and taught in classrooms. One can argue therefore that such an approach was meant to belittle most Black Africans as indeed inferior beings in all aspects of life. For instance, the defeat of Dingane by the Voortrekkers in 1838 became one of the important events for the Afrikaner nation, the school history curriculum recognised the heroic and historic event of Afrikaners over Dingane and his Zulu warriors. This was aimed at showing White supremacy over the defeated Black Africans thereby instilling the mentality of Black inferiority amongst Black African learners as well as the establishment of the collective memory or narrative for the Afrikaners. This links to the notion of storytelling

which is another tenet of CRT. In Chapter 3, Savas' (2013) contention is that through storytelling CRT can recognise and value the voices of Black Africans as legitimate, appropriate and critical to better understand, analyse and teach about racial subordination.

The negative attributes about Black African leaders were intended for Black African learners to view their own leaders as useless war mongers so that they could stop admiring them but instead emulate White leaders who were often depicted as astute and well-organised individuals. This could be linked with the notion of Whiteness discussed in Chapter 3 (Delgado & Stefancic, 2011). Also noted in Chapter 3 is Gabriel's (2007) understanding of the concept of Whiteness as a multi-faceted construct which serves both to maintain White supremacy, structured and systematic social, political, cultural and economic domination and privilege upon those classed as White. Therefore, by means of Bantu Education the government denied Black Africans the right to quality education as they were classed as inferior and that they could only qualify low position in society as hewers of wood and drawers of water (Thobejane, 2013). Therefore, Black African parents during apartheid were not inspired by the kind of history they learnt and viewed it as educationally and academically meaningless as they could not identify themselves with the White supremacist historiography. In other words, the deliberate neglect of local history created a problematic civic and academic identity amongst most Black African learners during apartheid.

Literature reviewed in Chapter 2 (Kukard, 2017; Carretero, 2017) revealed that civic identity is created by the teaching of a collective memory which ought to be inclusive and reflective of all members of a given nation regardless of their backgrounds, race and histories. However, during apartheid the civic identity which was created was problematic to most Black Africans because they were excluded from the collective memory or master narrative of White supremacist historiography. Moreover, Black Africans, based on the literature, were not considered citizens of White South Africa but citizens of the homelands where they were meant to live. Also noted in Chapter 2 is (Barton & Levstik, 2004; Kukard, 2017)'s argument that academic identity amongst learners is created by encouraging them to analyse issues of topicality as well as asking critical questions during lessons. However, based on the analysis of personal narratives and literature, the participants of the study revealed that they were not

allowed to ask critical questions in class. Therefore, such an approach contributed to Black African parents viewing school history as academically meaningless as they could not engage in critical thinking activities.

7.6 Black African learners under apartheid had a negative attitude towards school history

One of the major findings that emerged regarding school history during apartheid was that most Black African learners, including the participants of the study, left school with a negative attitude towards school history. Such a negative attitude is intertwined with the participants' negative experience of school history when they were learners under apartheid. Based on the analysis of the personal narratives and the reviewed literature Black African learners they hardly saw any value of school history mainly because they viewed it as an oppressive tool used on the one hand to undermine the essence and very existence of Black African people. On the other hand, Black Africans viewed history education as a tool used to validate Afrikaner and White supremacy. It is through such antagonistic value laden attitudes that most Black African learners left school with a negative attitude towards the subject of history. In other words, the White supremacists' historiography under apartheid also served to remind Black Africans of their inferior position as servants in the various White-owned enterprises such as farming and mining industries. This shows that the apartheid system and its education for Black Africans thrived on socio-economic and political inequality based on race. For instance, the minister of Native Affairs and then Prime Minister during apartheid Hendrik Verwoerd was quoted to have stated that if the native in South Africa in any kind of school in existence is being taught to expect that he will live his adult life under a policy of equal rights, he is making a big mistake (Thompson, 2014). Therefore, the servitude position of Black Africans was evidenced by the kind of school history curriculum that did not add value to them since the curriculum was completely exclusive to Afrikaner and Western historiography which vilified most of Black African people.

Besides, the marginalisation of local history content and the denial for learners to ask critical questions not only served to produce submissive learners but most importantly

to deny Black African learners the acquisition of necessary skills related to history education such as analysis, synthesis, interpretation of sources, and critical thinking. The participants of the study had to experience such negative experiences thereby leading them to have a negative attitude towards school history, and now as parents they continue to project such a negative attitude towards history into their children by discouraging them from doing it at school.

As stated in the personal narratives and the findings of this study, the participants stressed that the post-apartheid era was characterised by many opportunities for learners unlike during the apartheid era where there were no opportunities for Black African learners. The participants emphasised that under the post-apartheid context, their children must take advantage of the existing opportunities which they missed out themselves when they were learners under apartheid. Based on the analysis of the personal narratives, participants had wanted to pursue after matric courses such as medicine, law, accounting, and engineering but regrettably they were unable because it was not on the government's agenda to empower Black African learners through education. As highlighted in Chapters 5 and 6 the participants had no other option but to follow the limited careers which were earmarked for Black Africans and these included teaching, nursing, and the police service. The personal narratives and the reviewed literature show that the rationale behind the education of Black Africans under apartheid was to exclude them from the mainstream professions such as engineering, and many other science and mathematics related subjects.

The reviewed literature shows that for the ANC-led government to redress the inequalities and deficiencies of the past (Lomofsky & Lazarus, 2001), necessary reforms and policies which promoted science related subjects were introduced. However, one can argue therefore that such policies also contributed to the marginalisation of school history in the post-apartheid era at least in the first few years into the democratic dispensation in South Africa because emphasis was placed on science and technology related subjects. For instance, in Chapter 1, Asmal and James (2001) were quoted to have stated that Black Africans had to overcome the burden of Bantu Education, which deliberately neglected education in science and mathematics and rested on racist anthropology designed to generate cheap labour for what remained a colonial organised economy. In addition, Asmal and James (2001)

emphasised that South Africa was ill-equipped in science, mathematics and technology and therefore poorly prepared to meet the challenges of globalisation. Also as noted in Chapter 1, Kallaway (2012) argued that school history did not receive the same attention as science and mathematics in the post 1994 debates, and was to a large extent side-lined by curriculum 2005 and OBE.

Drawing from the storied narratives and the findings of the study, the participants took a conscious decision to encourage their children (learners) to pursue the previously mentioned subjects in order to materialise their dreams through their children. Themba's narrative stated that when he began working as a teacher during apartheid, he took a decision that he would direct his child to become a medical practitioner because he did not have the chance or opportunity himself when he was a learner during apartheid. As stressed in Chapters 5 and 6, Black African parents were subjected to an inferior standard of living characterised, by inadequate infrastructure, lack of resources, and educational opportunities. It follows then that, with the dawn of a democratic dispensation in 1994, efforts were put in place to ensure that, the previously disadvantaged Black Africans are empowered through quality education and access to opportunities associated with it.

7.6.1 Black African parents' expectations for their children in the post-apartheid era

It is a general wish for all parents to see their children be successful. One of the major findings that emerged from the analysis of the personal narratives of the participants in this study was that Black African parents viewed the post-apartheid era as synonymous to a wide range of opportunities particularly for young people as far as education is concerned. As stated in the narratives of Fana, Madoda, Phiwe and Themba that if Black African parents' children were to be successful then they had to pressure them to pursue subjects which are linked to social mobility and status such as mathematics and science rather than doing history at school which has limited opportunities. As stated in the narrative of Themba, most Black African parents were prevented from doing science and mathematics as these were generally reserved for White learners and that it was strategically planned that Blacks could not cross the line

as far as competition with Whites was concerned. In other words, Black African parents were disadvantaged in all aspects during apartheid, and as a result they were not able to materialise their dream careers through education.

As highlighted in the background of the study in Chapter 1, the participants of the study belong to the middle class and are now in a position of power and pressurise their children (learners) to follow their wishes. In other words, most Black African parents stated that since they were not able to achieve their dream careers during apartheid, they can now do it through their children. Literature reviewed (Pazich & Teranish, 2012) shows that Black African parents prefer their children to pursue subjects at school which are linked to social mobility and middle-class status to the detriment of their children's interests, ability and freedom of choice. To this end, and as highlighted in the personal narratives, Black African parents emphasised that school history is not a relevant subject at least in securing social status and prosperity. This also shows that Black African parents having experienced apartheid schooling where science and mathematics were only meant for White learners, and now as adults (parents) living under a democratic dispensation that favours science subjects their past value system is now being supported by the current government.

I argue therefore that the participants of the study not only see little value in their children studying history but also their negative attitude towards school history during apartheid is now being projected or perpetuated on to their children who are made to see school history through the eyes of their parents and relive the experiences of the latter. Though the history education curriculum has changed significantly in the post-apartheid era, the participants' negative experience is now being perpetuated on to their own children.

7.7 Black African parents admit change of history education curriculum since apartheid

However, the participants of this study have acknowledged that history education has improved significantly in the post-apartheid era. One of the major findings regarding history education in the post-apartheid era was that Black African parents admitted that content or substantive knowledge has changed significantly since apartheid. As

highlighted in the personal narratives and the findings, the participants stressed that the change of history education in the post-apartheid era was reflected in the improvement of the school history curriculum in the form of the CAPS document. In other words, Black African parents found the school history curriculum more relevant than the Bantu Education curriculum under the apartheid era.

As highlighted in the personal narratives, the participants have also admitted that the history education curriculum was now inclusive and attempts to present a more objective picture of the history of South Africa in the post-apartheid era. Also, the participants stated that now learners can learn about the struggle for liberation at school and also that learners are encouraged to take active participation in the lesson. Therefore, such an approach is contrary to their experience of history education under apartheid. As stated in Chapters 5 and 6 respectively, though the participants of this study admit that school history curriculum has improved significantly they are, however, unwilling to allow their children to do school history as they would want them instead to select certain subjects which they believe would ensure them economic prosperity and social status. It is also important to note that such a position of a value system based on money, prosperity or status has firm support from the ANC-led government that has shown a steady alignment towards science and mathematics subjects as part of its policies aimed at redressing the imbalances of the past through technical skills (Asmal & James, 2001). This view is also adequately stated in Thabo's narrative when he stated school history did not help Black African parents in the past when they were learners, and they are adamant that it will not help their children too especially at a time when there are so many opportunities for young people. Similarly, Phiwe's narrative emphasised that most Black African parents, including herself, viewed history education as not good enough to materialise their lost opportunities through their children.

Linking this to the theoretical framework that underpins this study, I argue therefore that though such attempts by Black African parents to influence their children to study certain subjects and careers is aimed at challenging the manner in which issues of race and racism impacted on the education of most Black Africans as far as opportunities were concerned, Black African parents could also learn to respect their children's ability and passion about their career interests because their life is not about

their parents but about themselves. For instance, it was stated in Menzi's narrative that his daughter wanted to pursue a career in education, but the parent insisted that she should consider medicine or civil engineering. Also, in Themba's narrative it was highlighted that a child was coerced to pursue medicine instead of teaching only because the father did not have the opportunity to materialise his dream of becoming a medical doctor during apartheid. This is an indication that most Black African parents under the democratic dispensation operate as 'helicopter parents' who overpoweringly make decisions for their children without necessarily acknowledging their right of choice. In other words, the participants of the study expect their children to view the world through their (parents) eyes and apartheid-era experiences thus placing children's interests into a compromise thereby derailing their children's prospects for the future as far as careers are concerned.

In this section I discussed the findings of the study which were supported by both the literature review and theoretical framework (CRT) which underpin this study. Therefore, the discussion of findings was also done in relation to the political and historical contexts in which the lived experiences of the ten participants of this study evolved, in addition the findings of this study identified various factors that emerged from the narratives. Therefore, the next section will present the theorisation part of the chapter.

7.8 Making theoretical sense

My decision to undertake this study was influenced by various factors, including my observations over several years of teaching school history at high school level. The focus of the study was to investigate the relationship between parents, and school history in apartheid and post-apartheid eras and how this leads parents to choose or not choose school history for their children.

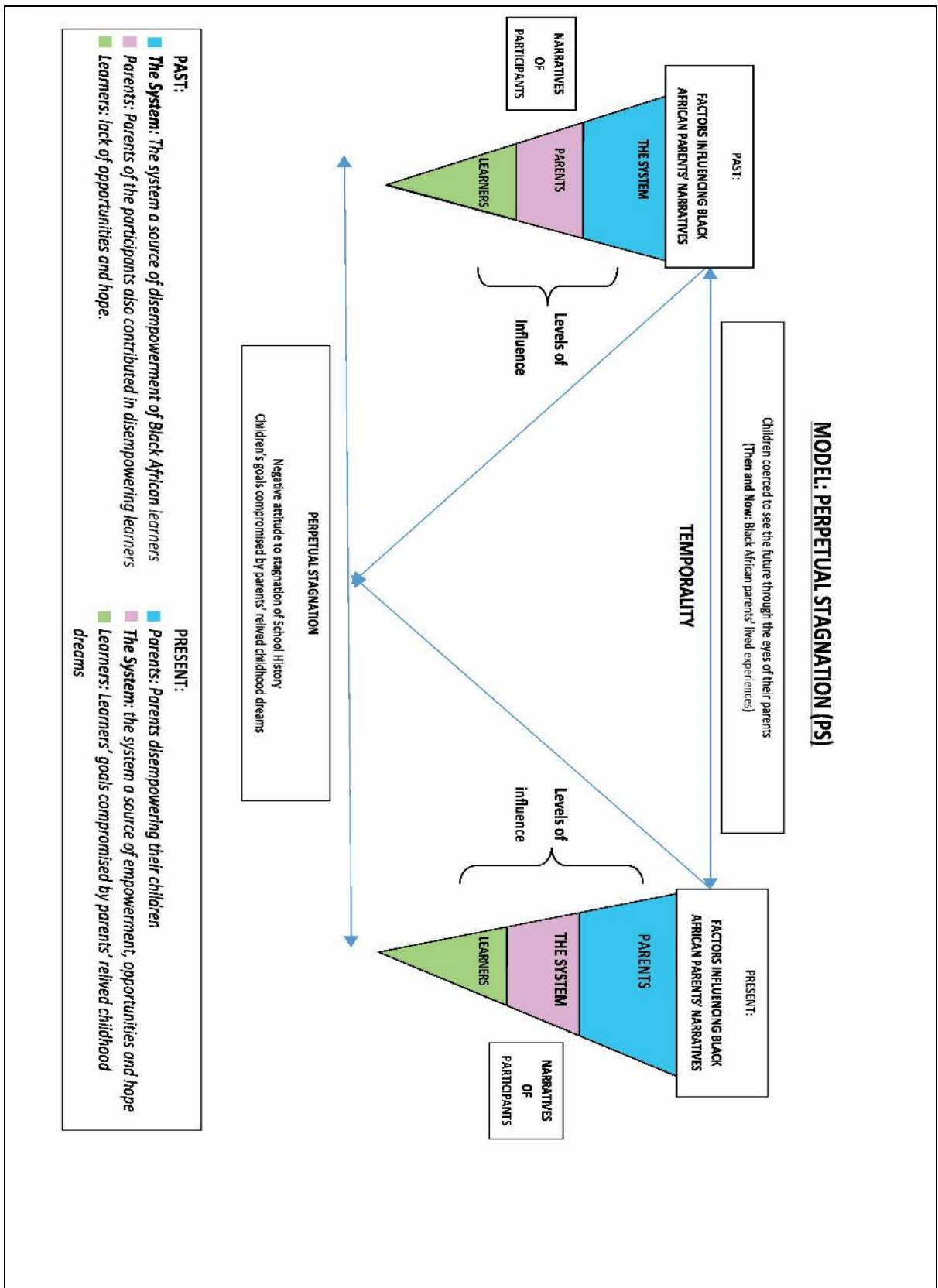
Prior to this research, my initial understanding about the relationship between the Black African parents and school history was that the parents did not want their children to do school history. This knowledge was based on my observation and anecdotal evidence, as a high school history teacher, and discussions with colleagues

about the phenomenon of some parents insisting that their children ought to do mathematics and science subjects regardless of their ability and interest in those subjects. However, such knowledge was not based on a systematic research to claim this initial understanding to be true.

However, after conducting the interviews with the participants of the study and the subsequent compilation of the ten personal narratives of the participants, I came to realise that the second research question of this study “how do parents’ narratives explain why their children do or do not do school history?” was not a simple one, since there are a multiplicity of factors that led Black African parents to decide whether their children do or do not do school history in the post-apartheid era.

The findings of this study showed that Black African parents produced various narratives regarding their experience of schooling and school history in both contexts of apartheid and post-apartheid South Africa. Such narratives relate to: Black African parents viewed apartheid as an evil system; Education under apartheid viewed as a tool of oppression; History education under apartheid viewed as a memory discipline; History education under apartheid viewed as meaningless; Black African learners under apartheid had a negative attitude towards school history; Black African parents’ expectations for their children in the post-apartheid era; and Black African parents admit change of history education curriculum since apartheid. These narratives are not limited to one of the historical periods under study. The findings showed that these narratives speak to both the apartheid and post-apartheid times. Therefore, I explain this phenomenon by using the model of ‘Perpetual Stagnation’ (below) to show how the parents’ narratives in relation to school history have remained largely similar regardless of the change in time and circumstances.

Figure 1: Model of Perpetual Stagnation (PS)



7.8.1 Factors emerging from the narratives of Black African parents

Based on the model of Perpetual Stagnation as a representation of my findings, there are various factors that emerged from the narratives of Black African parents which help to explain whether the children of Black African parents do or do not do school history. Such emerging factors from the narratives of Black African parents during apartheid include: the system; parents; and the learners. The post-apartheid factors are: parents; the system; and the learners. These factors as indicated in the two pyramids of the model show the hierarchical order of these factors in terms of the space they occupy in each pyramid, thereby highlighting the level of influence of each factor to the narratives of Black African parents. Apart from the factors, the model also shows the temporality (context) in which the experiences of Black African parents have evolved over time. It is important to note that things appear to have changed with the historical evolution from apartheid to post-apartheid, but certain things have not changed hence the model of perpetual stagnation. This means, the levels of influence of the participants' narratives were evident when the participants were learners during apartheid and even now when they are parents. Therefore, as I explain the levels of influence, I will also link them with the findings as I try to make sense of the participants' narratives.

7.8.1.1 Levels of influence during apartheid

As displayed in the model of perpetual stagnation the system, which represents the government, occupied the top spot of influence during apartheid. This means that, as highlighted in the literature and findings, the apartheid system had absolute control and power and it succeeded to disempower most Black African children by means of Bantu education, a substandard form of education. As per its hierarchical positioning in the model of Perpetual Stagnation, the apartheid system is depicted as the most influential factor in the narratives that Black African parents have regarding their schooling and school history experiences. The findings showed that most Black African learners were denied access to quality education and human dignity. In support of the findings Christie and Collins (1982) assert that education for Black African people in South Africa was designed to be “an integral part of a carefully

planned policy of segregated socio-economic development for the black people” (p.59). Subsequently, Clark and Worgen’s (2004) argument that through Bantu Education the government intended to promote the system of homelands where the Black people were expected to live, holds true and also accepts the fact that there was no space for them in the White community. As noted in Chapter 3 were Yosso’s et al’s (2004) contention that the deliberate exclusion of the Black African majority to the periphery was to camouflage the self-interest, power, and privilege of dominant groups in society, in this case the Afrikaner nationalists. One can argue therefore that, the main purpose of apartheid racist and separatist laws was to cement or inculcate the notion of normalcy of racism by promoting White supremacy and economic subjugation of most Black Africans.

Based on the findings the system used the school history curriculum to promote and sustain Afrikaner historiography, privileges and White supremacy. On the other hand, as highlighted in the personal narratives of the participants, reviewed literature and the findings, Black African leaders were misrepresented in history books and they were often depicted as unintelligent, barbaric and murderous. School history also taught misleading and distorted content that for instance; the history of South Africa began with the arrival of Jan van Riebeeck and the White settlers in 1652. I argue therefore that the participants of the study experienced such a humiliating and discrediting form of historiography, thus leading them to develop a negative attitude towards the subject of history, in that it did not represent any value to them. According to Abdi (2003), the Afrikaner, history and culture, Afrikaner religion in the body of the Dutch Reformist Church, complemented, when necessary, by the wilful fabrication of a cluster of myths and falsehood essentially created to assure the marketability of these new ideologies. These could be linked therefore with the Black African parents’ view that school history was educationally and academically meaningless because of the way school history was introduced and taught particularly to Black African learners.

The findings further showed that rote learning and memorisation of facts were used as methods for teaching and learning, and learners were discouraged from asking critical questions in class, which was often accompanied by corporal punishment. As a result, as shown in the findings, many learners did not like school history and they perceived it as an instrument used by Whites to tame most Black Africans. Zungu (1977) posits

that the “Afrikaners- ‘as Christian’ and as a more civilized group – had to assume the role of guardianship over the ‘uncivilized’ Africans” (p.73). As explained in Chapter 3, regarding the notion of Whiteness, Garner (2006) emphasised that by virtue of Black Africans having been cauterised as inferior beings not only set them apart for exploitation but also to internalise that the universality of Whiteness was not meant for them but the ruling elite or White minority. It follows then that, the misrepresentation and distortion of facts did not inspire many Black African learners who saw their leaders negatively depicted which led to many Black African learners not liking school history. One can argue therefore that the bad experience that Black African parents had of school history did not motivate them nor did it create passion for the subject for many Black African learners, hence the notion of history education being of off-putting or meaningless for most Black African learners under apartheid. I further argue that by not allowing the learners to ask critical questions in class, the system had aimed to inculcate a culture of passivity amongst Black African learners, and therefore conforming themselves that the history of South Africa is all about the history of Afrikaner and White settlers.

Moreover, as part of disempowerment of Black African learners, the findings showed that the apartheid system did not commit itself to provide equal school facilities across all races. For instance, public schools frequented by most Black African children were characterised by a conspicuous lack of adequate infrastructure, lack of resources and the existence of many unqualified teachers. This could be linked to Black African parents’ view that apartheid was a monstrous and evil system that brought great difficulties to many Black African learners. According to Msila (2007), such disproportionate funding enhanced the superiority complex of White South Africans over Black Africans where the latter saw themselves as inferior by all standards.

Another factor that influenced the narratives of Black African parents is the role played by the parents of the participants who occupy the second spot on the hierarchy of influence in the model of perpetual stagnation. The parents of the participants during apartheid, as highlighted in the personal narratives and findings, contributed in limiting the aspirations and ambitions of their children. This means having lived at the height of apartheid and socialised to fear and submit to the White man. I argue that the parents of the participants also contributed in suppressing the hopes and opportunities

of their children as they were also made to believe by the system that certain professions were meant for Whites, thus suggesting that the level of indoctrination and suppression of Black African interests was severe. Therefore, discouraging their own children in following their dream careers as noted in the personal narratives of Londeka and Phiwe. This can also be linked to the view that apartheid was a monstrous and evil system where Black Africans experienced immense troubles and difficulties in their schooling journey. In a nutshell, both the system and the parents during apartheid disempowered Black African learners.

The third level of influence was the learners. Learners during apartheid had a difficult schooling experience in that they did not have career choices because the system had placed a glass ceiling as far as opportunities were concerned. Besides, the fact that the difficult schooling experience was across the board in the homelands where most Black Africans lived based on the personal narratives, made them view their plight as being a normal way of life since it was the only experience they had. Moreover, Black African parents' narratives showed that during the apartheid era parents did not have power which was evidenced by the lack of monitoring of their own children's school work, because the majority of them were illiterate and frequently returned home too tired as they were labourers in the farms or they were mere peasants.

7.8.3 Levels of influence in the post-apartheid era

Black African parents in the post-apartheid era are now in a position of power to coerce and influence their children's subject choices and careers. The context during apartheid as far as education was concerned was that of exclusion based on race, where most Black African parents could not achieve their educational goals, and as a result they ended up pursuing careers that were common amongst Black African people at the time. These included: teaching; nursing and police service. Based on the personal narratives and the findings, Black African parents tend to select mathematics and science subjects for their children, and school history is hardly considered on their list of choice. As a result, children's goals remained compromised by parents' relieved childhood dreams and learners are on the other hand coerced to see the future through the eyes of their parents. Therefore, I argue that whether Black African parents

– as learners back then – did or did not do school history is immaterial because school history under post-apartheid continues to be stagnant as it was before under apartheid amongst Black African learners. School history is stagnant in the sense that parents do not want their children to do history in the post-apartheid context thereby leading to a vicious circle of perpetual stagnation of school history. In other words, this study having been partly motivated by my teaching experience at a high school level FET Phase for a number of years in one of the historic schools I realised that many parents bring their children to the school motivated by its history of excellence but they do not want their children to do school history. This phenomenon, based on the analysis of the personal narratives, is linked to the disadvantaged background of the participants where they could not achieve their dream careers in the past, and now, as parents under a democratic dispensation, their missed-out childhood dreams are being supported.

Based on the model of perpetual stagnation, the system in the post-apartheid era occupies a second position of influence. That is, while the system has created opportunities for many youths particularly the previously disadvantaged Black Africans, parents seem to have an upper hand in determining what kind of subjects and careers to pursue for their children and the economic dreams they have for them often supersede the interests, inclination and abilities of their children and consequently most learners do not cope with the selected subjects. Therefore, as noted in the personal narratives and the reviewed literature the opportunities created emphasise skills development in the fields of mathematics, science and technology. I can argue therefore that this does not only bring hope to Black African learners but also and most importantly hope for Black African parents who now see the opportunity to realise their lost dreams through their children. Therefore, based on the negative experience of most Black African parents of school history when they were learners under apartheid, now as adults project their negative attitude towards history education into their children thus making school history to be viewed as irrelevant and useless amidst the market-driven economic policies of the ANC-led government.

I argue therefore that, Black African parents' insistence and coercion of their children to do certain subjects such as mathematics and science at high school level with the aim of pursuing certain careers deemed important, is a sign that they are longing for

Whiteness. Whiteness as a property (see Chapter 3), which is one of the CRT tenets, is associated with the good life, privileges and prosperity and all these attributes were beyond Black African parents' reach during apartheid. Therefore, since the system, as per the analysis of the narratives and the findings of the study, is now set to empower the youth with skills as far as education is concerned, the participants see it as an appropriate moment for them to make subject choices on behalf of their children and so often such choices are of parents' interests instead of their children. I further argue that, in the race for prosperity and social status the participants do not see any value in their children studying history at school thus inculcating in them a negative attitude towards history. In other words, school history was viewed with great negativity during apartheid by most Black African learners, and such negativity towards school history continues as parents' project their negative experiences of the subject on to their children under the current democratic dispensation, hence the model of perpetual stagnation.

8. Conclusion

It is important to note that, this research project was aimed at investigating the narratives of Black African parents as they relate to school history in both the apartheid and the post-apartheid contexts in South Africa. The objective of the study was to answer the two main questions: What are the narratives of Black African parents as they relate to school history in both apartheid and post-apartheid South Africa? And, how do their narratives explain why their children do or do not do school history? Therefore, this chapter discussed the findings of the study which comprised various themes that emerged from the analysis of the personal narratives. The discussions covered two important historical periods namely the apartheid and post-apartheid eras in which the participants' schooling and school history experiences evolved over time. Apart from the discussions of findings, I also presented the theorisation section in which I explain the phenomenon of the study by using the model of 'Perpetual Stagnation' to show how the parents' narratives in relation to school history have remained largely similar regardless of the change in time and circumstances.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUDING THE STUDY

Researchers must be aware of political and economic foundations of knowledge, curriculum, and teaching (Gage, 1989, p. 5).

8.1 Introduction

As I come to the end of my Ph.D., it is now time to take stock of what has transpired since I took the decision to undertake this thesis. The study set out to investigate the narratives of Black African parents as they relate to school history in both the apartheid and post-apartheid eras. Additionally, the study was meant to propose answers to the two main research question namely: what are the narratives of Black African parents as they relate to school history in both apartheid and post-apartheid South Africa; and how do their narratives explain why their children do or do not do school history?

In the previous chapter, I discussed the major findings of the study which emerged from the analysis of the personal narratives and, I also presented the theorisation section with the aim of making academic sense of the findings. Now, I move on to present the concluding remarks of the study which revolve around the following themes: review of the study; methodological reflections; reflections on the major findings; personal and professional reflections; implication of the study; and limitations of the study.

8.2 Review of the study

In this section I provide an overall review of the study. The review entails a brief summation of what each chapter of the study covered or dealt with.

Chapter 1

Chapter 1 of the study served to set out the scene of the research project. In other words, the chapter introduced the study based on the following topic: Black African Parents and School History: A Narrative Inquiry. That is, in this opening chapter I presented a comprehensive background of the study which was aimed at putting the reader into context, the timeframe and place where the study was conducted. Apart from the background of the study the chapter also presented the research questions, as well as the focus and purpose of the research project. Moreover, the chapter briefly discussed the research design and methodology used in the study. The study adopted narrative inquiry as a methodology which is concerned with the lived experiences of people. The methodology was complemented by the methods for data generation which included semi-structured interviews with the participants, observations and pictures which were used to trigger the memory of the participants. Still under methods, the study employed convenience and purposeful sampling to select the participants for the study. The next chapter dealt with the review of literature.

Chapter 2

The second chapter of the study focussed on reviewing the literature relevant to the study in a thematic manner. The review of the literature was firstly aimed at finding out published literature related to the topic of the study and also to identify research gaps. That is, the review of the literature allowed me to identify the research gap in that most related studies have focused on experiences of learners or students and teachers, and not parents' schooling experiences and school history in particular. After the literature review, I went on to engage with the theoretical framework.

Chapter 3

The theoretical framework, which was presented in Chapter 3, reviewed the theoretical literature on which the study is based. The study adopted CRT as a theoretical lens to best investigate and make sense of the participants' lived experiences during the apartheid and post-apartheid eras. CRT was chosen because of its focus and concern

with issues related to race characterised by oppression, social injustice, discrimination and segregation, which ultimately produce skewed power relations and racial dominion. The participants of the study experienced this during apartheid. The chapter discussed the key tenets of CRT which helped me to make sense of the participants' schooling and school history experiences under apartheid and their attitudes towards school history in the post-apartheid era. In other words, through CRT I was able to examine issues of power relations based on race as experienced by the participants during apartheid, and even now in the post-apartheid era, when most Black Africans are still disadvantaged. The study showed that the historical and local contexts of Black African parents had influence in the way they viewed school history in the past and how they view it after the demise of apartheid in 1994. After this chapter, I moved on to the research design and methodology used in the study.

Chapter 4

In Chapter 4, I discussed both the design and methodology of the study. In this chapter I began by outlining the research design (paradigm, approach and ontological and epistemological assumptions) before delving into more detail on methodological issues and methods used in the study. As methodology, the study adopted narrative inquiry as indicated above, because of its interest in human experiences, in that people live storied lives. Therefore, through narrative inquiry I was able to engage with the participants, record and make sense of their stories about their schooling experiences, particularly school history. In addition, through semi-structured interviews I was able to gather a huge amount of data which was transcribed and analysed. The first level of analysis of the transcribed data adopted open-coding which allowed me to assign labels to the data under investigation and I was therefore able to provide a summary of the data by identifying emerging themes and patterns. That is, similar themes were grouped together to facilitate the analysis. Thereafter, the first level of analysis led to the compilation of the ten personal narratives of the participants.

Chapter 5

In Chapter 5, I presented the personal narratives of the participants which helped to propose an answer to the first research question: What are the narratives of Black African parents as they relate to school history in both apartheid and post-apartheid South Africa? This then led to the next chapter where analysis of the personal narratives was conducted.

Chapter 6

In Chapter 6, the personal narratives of Black African parents were analysed. Also, in this second level of analysis, I adopted open-coding where emerging themes were identified and categorised through coded colours where similar themes were grouped together for analysis. Therefore, the emerging themes constituted various narratives that the participants have about schooling and school history in both apartheid and post-apartheid South Africa. In other words, the second level of analysis led to the emergent themes or narratives which form part of the major findings of the study, which were discussed in detail in the next chapter.

Chapter 7

As indicated above, Chapter 7 discussed the major findings of the study. The discussion of the findings was an attempt to propose an answer to the second research question: How do their (Black African parents') narratives explain why their children do or do not do school history? This chapter revealed that there were various factors that influenced the narratives of participants in both apartheid and post-apartheid context, and such factors led them to dislike school history as learners under apartheid and, now as parents still continued to perpetuate their negative attitude towards school history on to their children (see the model of perpetual stagnation in Chapter 7). After a discussion of the findings I then moved on to the concluding chapter of the study.

Chapter 8

In Chapter 8, the current chapter, I presented the concluding reflections of the study. The concluding chapter began by providing a brief overview of the study in terms of what the study discussed in each chapter. Then I moved on to present a reflection on the methodology and methods used in the study before I could present my personal and professional reflection of the study. I also presented implications of the study as far as school history is concerned, and limitations.

8.3 Methodological reflections

Under this section, I present a reflection on the methodology and methods I used for the study. I must admit that before I embarked on this research study, I was not that well versed or rather knew little about narrative inquiry. Therefore, after I had decided on the topic of the study, the next challenging step was to find an appropriate methodology which would help to propose answers to the two main research questions of the study, namely: what are the narratives of Black African parents as they relate to school history in both apartheid and post-apartheid South Africa; and how do their narratives explain why their children do or do not do school history?

However, after thorough reading towards the study, I found out that narrative inquiry was an adequate methodology for the study since it is concerned with individuals' lived experiences. Therefore, narrative inquiry allowed me not only to listen to Black African parents' stories but also to engage with the participants, thus allowing me to unearth more data, analyse it, thereby making sense or creating new meaning out of it. In other words, though the use of narrative inquiry I realised that "stories are social artefacts, telling us as much about society and culture as they do about a person or a group" (Riessman, 2008, p.106). This showed me that human experiences are embedded in a historical and political context in which people live, thus shaping their identity, worldview as well as the way they understand themselves in relation to others.

It is also important to note that, narrative inquiry as methodology not only allowed me as a researcher to engage with the participants but also and most importantly enabled the participants to relive their past experiences through storytelling, which emphasised

the notion that “humans are storytelling organisms, who socially and individually, lead storied lives” (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990, p.2). In other words, through narrative inquiry the participants journeyed down memory lane where they vividly highlighted the kind of schooling environment they experienced as well as the history education they endured under apartheid. Such experiences not only demoralised most Black African parents but also their experience of school history under apartheid made them feel humiliated, ashamed and inferior in relation to other races, particularly White people. Therefore, through narrative inquiry I was able to realise and understand that “narratives provide opportunities to gain insight into the lived experience of individuals and thus can illuminate an understanding of culture as whole” (Goodson & Gill, 2011, p.20). This suggests that, the participants of the study through narrative inquiry, were able to vividly speak about how the apartheid context impacted on their lives and aspirations as young people back then. Also, how the present political landscape shapes and informs their experiences as far as schooling and history education is concerned for their children. It follows then that through the ability to retell one’s story, the participants also became vital co-constructors of their personal narratives.

It followed that after I decided on the methodology of the study, I also had to adopt adequate methods that complemented narrative inquiry as a methodology. To this end, for data generation I selected semi-structured interviews because through the interviewing process I was able not only to engage with the participants but also to gather enough relevant data from Black African parents, who were the participants of the study. The semi-structured interviews allowed the participants to freely express themselves about their personal life experiences as far as they could remember. In addition, as a researcher, I was able to encourage and lead them by asking them leading questions about what I could identify as critical points during their responses, thus allowing me “the flexibility to ask further questions to clarify points raised by the interviewee” (Bold, 2012, p. 65). Therefore, through the interviewing process I realised that the purpose of “narrative interviewing is to generate detailed accounts rather than brief answers or general statements” (Riessman, 2008, p. 23). Through the detailed information that I managed to gather, I was able to compile ten personal narratives which presented in depth the lived experiences of the participants in both the apartheid and post-apartheid context as learners and parents respectively. Moreover, I used some photographs which were supplied by some participants. The photographs

played a critical role in triggering the memory of the participants about their schooling experiences during apartheid thus leading them to compare their experiences with their children's learning environment and opportunities in post-apartheid South Africa. This allowed me as a researcher to deduce and link their past experiences to their negative attitude towards history education and hence their role as helicopter parents to their children in the post-apartheid era in South Africa.

Since both narrative inquiry and semi-structured interviews generated a huge amount of data, I found it necessary to adopt convenience and purposeful sampling as a method for selecting the sample of the study. That is, I met first with the participants of the study at the school where I teach as they came to attend meetings and other important school activities. This worked best as I hardly went out of my way in search of potential interviewees for the study. Through this process I also realised that the sampling process in qualitative studies is less structured as there are no set rules for sample sizes (de Vos, 2005). Therefore, informed by the amount of data to be generated, I found it appropriate to select a limited sample of ten participants as this would provide me with a significant amount of data. The study adopted a sample size of ten participants. Though such a number for a qualitative research working on narrative inquiry produces an enormous amount of data the findings of the study cannot be generalised to include all Black African parents in South Africa.

I selected open-coding as the instrument for data analysis. The data analysis was conducted in two distinct stages namely: analysis of the transcribed data; and the analysis of the personal narratives. The first analysis allowed me to identify the emerging themes and those with similar themes were grouped together. This proved to be of great help because it enabled me to compile the ten personal narratives of the participants (see Chapter 5), which were later analysed in Chapter 6. The second level of analysis led to the emergence of various themes or narratives that participants have about school history. My contribution to the methodology, narrative inquiry, was through the model of Perpetual Stagnation (PS) which served as a representation of my findings. Through the PS model the study showed that there were various factors that influenced the narratives of the participants in both apartheid and post-apartheid South Africa. The study also showed that such factors of influence were intertwined with the political and historical contexts (apartheid and post-apartheid) in which the

experiences of the participants evolved. As noted in Chapter 4, was Gage's (1989) contention that researchers must be aware of political and economic foundations of knowledge, curriculum, and teaching. Therefore, as highlighted in the PS model, each context had its dynamics and helped to shape both the mind-set and worldview of the participants to view school history in the manner they did.

8.4 Reflection of findings

8.4.1 Black African parents viewed apartheid as a monstrous and evil system

Under this major finding I reflect on Black African parents, on how the participants during their schooling era viewed the system of apartheid. The study showed that there were many factors that led to the participants of the study to view apartheid as a monstrous and evil system. Based on its principles of racial segregation, the apartheid system impacted negatively on most Black African people as they were particularly categorised as an inferior group amongst all other racial groups in South Africa. As a result, Black Africans were condemned to abject poverty in the homelands, thus making them vulnerable and susceptible to exploitation. The study showed that one of the purposes of the apartheid system was to belittle and disempower Black Africans in order to ensure total control and dominion over them. In addition, the study shows that most of the parents of the participants were not only poor, but were also illiterate and such a life situation placed them in total submission to their White masters, moreover making it impossible for them to be involved or monitor their children's (Black African parents) schooling.

8.4.2 Black African parents viewed apartheid as a tool of oppression

Under this major finding, the study revealed that the power relations between Black Africans and White people were lop-sided where the former were seen as the solution for the apartheid capitalist system. The study showed that, the apartheid system remained obdurate on the question of racial disparity as evidenced by severe discriminatory apartheid laws and policies. For instance, as part of the oppressive and racist policies, most Black African learners, including the participants of the study, were subjected to a substandard form of education aimed at derailing the aspirations

and career prospects of Black African learners. In other words, as revealed in the study, the main purpose of the Bantu education system was to maintain most Black Africans in low ranking positions in society in all aspects of life, while at the same time promoting White learners and youth to leadership positions thus instilling the notion of White supremacy. It is necessary to note that, within such an historical milieu Black African people were made to accept their inferior position in relation to Whites as a normal thing.

8.4.3 Black African parents viewed History education as a memory discipline

The study has revealed that history education under apartheid was used to establish an exclusive collective memory for Afrikaner nationalists. The study also showed that in order to achieve such a desired collective memory of the grand narrative of Afrikaner White history the apartheid system crafted a racist school history curriculum in which Black Africans were not seen as citizens of South Africa. However, they (Black Africans) were portrayed in history textbooks as criminals and murderers without a history of their own. Also, the study showed that through race-based history education, most Black African learners, including the participants of the study, developed a negative attitude towards the subject of school history an attitude which at present is being projected by Black African parents on to their children.

8.4.4 Black African parents viewed History education as meaningless under apartheid

The study further revealed that Black African parents were exposed to a distorted and biased content, which favoured White interests and privileges. The study also revealed that history education was viewed as meaningless because it calculatingly omitted some of the important content or information regarding success stories or victories attained by Black Africans against White settlers. It is important to note that though such relevant information was excluded, most Black Africans knew such stories through oral tradition which suggests that it was an attempt by White and Afrikaner authorities to “white out” local history. Consequently, and as shown in the study, Black

African learners could not identify themselves with the school history curriculum during apartheid, and this created both civic and academic problematic identities. As indicated in the study, exposed to an autocratic and racist curriculum, Black African learners did not know where they belonged as, school history at the time denied their inalienable right to belong to South Africa. Moreover, through the school history curriculum, the study revealed that, learners were expected to remain passive and not engage in activities that promoted critical and analytic skills, thus helping create a problematic academic identity.

8.4.5 Black African parents' negative attitude towards school history under apartheid

Under this finding, the study showed that Black African parents were exposed to a negative school history which undermined the integrity and dignity of Black African learners. In other words, the study revealed that the participants viewed school history as value-laden, advancing the interest and privileges of the White minority at the expense of the majority of Black Africans.

8.4.6 Black African parents' expectations for their children in the post-apartheid era

The study revealed that the schooling environment in which the participants had during apartheid is the complete opposite of that of their children in the post-apartheid era. That is, the post-apartheid era, as per the study, is characterised by the existence of many opportunities for young people as far as education is concerned. The study revealed that such development not only created conflict of interest between parents and their children, but also and most importantly, parents want their children to view and understand the past through their eyes. Since parents as indicated in the study had a negative experience of school history when they were learners under apartheid, parents use their negative experience to coerce their children to do certain subjects, in the hope of pursuing careers that their parents were unable to do when they were learners because of the system. Since the system in the post-apartheid era is empowering, parents, as per the study, see this as an opportune moment to achieve

their dreams through their children, at the expense of the children's own career ambition.

8.4.7 Black African parents admit that school history has changed since apartheid

The study revealed that the school history curriculum has changed or improved significantly since apartheid. The study showed that Black African parents found school history more interesting and inclusive in the post-apartheid era. That is, school history no longer humiliated and undermined Black Africans' identity and existence. Moreover, the study showed that the school history curriculum is now inclusive in that learners were now able to learn about issues pertinent to the liberation struggle which was not possible under apartheid when they were learners. For instance, struggle icons such as Nelson Mandela and many others were viewed as terrorists or communists and learners were not allowed to talk about them. Also, the study showed that school history in the post-apartheid era encouraged learners to develop critical skills such as analysis, interpretation, and critical thinking, which skills were discouraged under apartheid.

8.4.8 Thesis statement

At the beginning of this study the identified research problem was that some Black African parents send their children to an historic school as they are attracted by its history of academic excellence, but they do not want their children to do school history. In order to understand this phenomenon, I applied a CRT lens on a Narrative Inquiry of the schooling experiences of the Black African parents from the apartheid to the post-apartheid times. This process revealed various factors which contributed to the way the participants viewed school history in the past as learners and now as adults in the post-apartheid era. The findings showed that school history was viewed with great negativity by the participants when they were learners during apartheid, and they now extend their negative experience of school history to their children. This explains their dislike for history in favour of other subjects deemed important. I explain this

phenomenon using the concept of perpetual stagnation, which explains how views towards school history have virtually not changed despite changes in political dispensations and governments' educational agendas.

In this section, I briefly reflected on the major findings of the study, and I now proceed to focus on personal and professional reflection about the study.

8.5 Personal and professional reflections

8.5.1 Personal reflection

When I was admitted at the school of education to pursue my doctoral studies in history education with the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN), Edgewood Campus, I thrilled with great joy and enthusiasm at such an honour. I always contemplated that should I get an opportunity to pursue doctoral studies I would grab it with both hands, thus making use of it. A PhD qualification for me is not about academic status but most importantly a sign of hard work and unwavering commitment to see to it that my research project is duly completed. I must admit that while I was highly motivated with my studies, I however encountered some challenges on the way. One of the challenges has been "time". Time seemed not enough for me in that I undertook this research project while working full-time as a Deputy Principal at the school where I teach. Nevertheless, the tight work schedule taught me to devise a coping strategy in order to ensure that my research project got the necessary time and attention it deserved. That is, my day began very early in the morning (3 am) on a daily basis.

Another challenge I encountered was related to my ethical clearance. I applied for ethical clearance in February 2016, however, I only received the response in July 2016. In other words, my ethical clearance was approved after five months and during this period my study was on hold because I could not start with data collection without having been issued with the ethical clearance certificate by the university. Despite these challenges, the entire process has been so unique to me in that I met various personalities who offered some input throughout the duration of the study.

This study was of personal significance to me if I consider my positionality as an external-insider. As a Mozambican citizen who has lived and worked in South Africa for about 23 years, I partly identify myself with the participants' experiences, even though I did not have a first-hand experience of the apartheid system. However, the external part of my positionality enabled me to engage with the findings in a non-attached manner, thus being able to coin the model of perpetual stagnation. This means, as an external observer I approached the experiences of the participants with a more critical and analytical stance in order to make sense of their narratives.

In addition, as a school history educator in the post-apartheid context, the study helped me to realise that teaching history in a multiracial society with a history of racial segregation like South Africa, it is important to teach learners to acquire interpretation, critical and analytical skills as these would help learners to best understand the past, thus being in a position to make informed decisions about the present and the future.

8.5.2 Professional reflection

At a professional level, the study has been of great benefit for me in that it helped enhance my research skills as well as understanding the role that different historical and political contexts have on the human experience in the manner, they view the world. Additionally, through the study, after working with narrative inquiry as a methodology, I am now in a better position to understand and make sense of the challenges that learners may face at school. That is, as an educator and history education specialist I will be able to effectively engage with learners, thus understanding them better thorough their stories and background in teaching. Moreover, through this research project I am now in a better position to critically contribute in the academia and particularly in the field of history education.

8.6 Conclusion

This chapter was aimed at presenting concluding remarks or reflections on how the study was conducted. The chapter placed emphasis on the following subheadings for reflection: review of the study; the methodology and methods I used in the study,

reflection on findings, personal and professional reflections. It is important to note that, the focus of the study was to investigate the relationship between parents, and school history in apartheid and post-apartheid eras and how this leads parents to producing certain narratives regarding post-apartheid schooling in South Africa and how this impacts on their children. To this end, I would understand the narratives of Black African parents as they relate to school history in both the apartheid and the post-apartheid contexts. The study revealed that Black African parents in the post-apartheid era tend to care deeply about the education of their children to the extent that they even coerce them to select certain subjects in order to pursue certain courses at tertiary level. The study revealed that the courses that children (learners) are coerced to do by their parents often do not represent children's, but parents' interests. What this study contributed to is an understanding of how parents project their dislike of school history on their children based on their own experiences. Furthermore, while government policy of apartheid made school history unlikable, the post-apartheid government's policy of privileging mathematics and science has also made school history unlikable. This perpetual stagnation shows how some things have changed in the post-apartheid era, while some have remained the same.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Picture elicitation 1A



*Steve Biko (centre) in full school uniform at a Mariannhill school
(St Francis College Newsletter, 1965, p.35)*

Picture 2A



Learners during lessons at a Catholic mission school

Picture 3A



Learners sharing a book in a Township school

Picture 4A



Older learners in school under apartheid

Appendix B: Ethical Clearance



04 July 2016

Mr Mauricio Paulo Langa 203508098
School of Education
Edgewood Campus

Dear Mr Langa

Protocol reference number: HSS/0119/016D
Project Title: Black African parents and school history: A narrative inquiry

Full Approval – Expedited Application
In response to your application received 8 February 2016, the Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee has considered the abovementioned application and the protocol has been granted **FULL APPROVAL**.

Any alteration/s to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach and Methods must be reviewed and approved through the amendment/modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number.

PLEASE NOTE: Research data should be securely stored in the discipline/department for a period of 5 years.

The ethical clearance certificate is only valid for a period of 3 years from the date of issue. Thereafter Recertification must be applied for on an annual basis.

I take this opportunity of wishing you everything of the best with your study.

Yours faithfully

Dr Shenuka Singh (Chair)
Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee

/pm

Cc Supervisor: Dr MT Maposa & Prof Jm Wassermann
Cc Academic Leader Research: Dr SB Khoza
Cc School Administrator: Ms Tyzer Khumalo

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1910 - 2010
100 YEARS OF ACADEMIC EXCELLENCE

Branches: Pietermaritzburg ■ Edgewood ■ Howard College ■ Medical School ■ Pietermaritzburg ■ Westville

Appendix C: Interview schedule

UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL

PhD Research project

Title:

Black African parents and school history: a narrative inquiry

Interview schedule with the participants

1. Tell me about your schooling days.
2. Tell me about history at school.
3. Introducing the artefacts/photographs (e.g. learners in a classroom/past book extracts):
 - a) What comes into your mind when you see this picture?
 - b) What were your ambitions?
 - c) Studying history at school helped you achieve your ambitions?
4. How did apartheid impact on your schooling?
5. Does your child do history?
6. What your views about your child doing history?

Appendix D: Letter of Consent

GATE KEEPERS INFORMED CONSENT

School of education, College
of Humanities
University of KwaZulu-Natal
Edgewood Campus

Dear Gatekeepers (The Rector/Principal)

RE: SEEKING PERMISSION TO CONDUCT INTERVIEWS WITH PARENTS /PARTICIPANTS TO THIS STUDY

My name is Mauricio Paulo Langa. I am a Doctoral student at the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN), Edgewood Campus. I am requesting your permission to interview you as part of my research project. My topic is: ***Black African Parents and school history: a narrative inquiry***.

The study focuses on the narratives of Black African parents regarding school history in both apartheid and post-apartheid South Africa. It aims to understand the narratives of Black African Parents as it relates to history in both apartheid and post-apartheid contexts. I intend to hold in depth interviews with some parents to gain deeper insight into their lived experiences both as learners then and as parents now, as this will enable me to further understand their perceptions of the subject of history then and now.

The research will run for a period of three months and will involve conducting interviews with 10 parents who have children studying in one of the local former historic schools in the province in the province of KwaZulu-Natal. Apart from the interviews with the Black African parents I will also rely on archival documents such as newspaper articles and pictures relevant to the study. These will further encourage the participants to go down the memory lane as they vividly relive their experiences through their narratives.

The process of data collection will not interfere with the daily activities of any participant taking part in the study. Appointments for interviews will be scheduled to take place at the time convenient to them. The rights of all participants in the study will be negotiated and each participant will sign the informed consent forms. The participants' permission will be sought prior to their participation in the process of data collection.

Attached to this letter is a list of ethical issues I will take into consideration with my participants:
Notes to the Participants:

1. Your confidentiality and anonymity are guaranteed as pseudonyms would be used in place of your real name.
2. Your involvement is purely for academic purposes only, and there are no financial benefits involved.
3. Please attempt to respond to all questions.
4. There are no right or wrong answers therefore respond to each question in a manner that will reflect your own personal opinion.

5. All your responses will be treated with strict confidentiality.
6. Data will be stored in secure storage and destroyed after 5 years.
7. You have a choice to participate, not participate or stop participating in the research. You will not be penalized for taking such an action.
8. Any information given by you cannot be used against you, and the collected data will be used for purposes of this research only.

My contact details:

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HSSREC RESEARCH OFFICE

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Westville Campus
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Thank you for your contribution to this research.

Mauricio Langa

Appendix E: Turnitin report

8/20/2019

Turnitin

Turnitin Originality Report Processed on: 09-Aug-2019 11:02 AM CAT ID: 1158829229 Word Count: 90256 Submitted: 1					
BLACK AFRICAN PARENTS AND SCHOOL HISTORY: A NARRATIVE INQUIRY By Mauricio Langa	<table> <tr> <th>Similarity Index</th><th>Similarity by Source</th></tr> <tr> <td>13%</td><td> Internet Sources: 10% Publications: 3% Student Papers: 9% </td></tr> </table>	Similarity Index	Similarity by Source	13%	Internet Sources: 10% Publications: 3% Student Papers: 9%
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< 1% match (Internet from 09-Sep-2017) http://researchspace.ukzn.ac.za/bitstream/handle/10413/13850/Mbokazi_Nombulelo_Thembile_2016.pdf?isAllowed=y&sequence=1
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< 1% match (publications) Bekisizwe S. Ndimande. "Race and resources: black parents' perspectives on post-apartheid South African schools", <i>Race Ethnicity and Education</i> , 2012
< 1% match (student papers from 31-Aug-2015) Submitted to University of Stellenbosch, South Africa on 2015-08-31

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Appendix F: Newspaper articles (The Natal Mercury)

Article 1 – 26 June 1976

SHARPEVILLE FEARS AIRED IN SOWETO

JOHANNESBURG — Councillor Leonard Mosala warned in the Soweto Urban Council earlier this week that enforcing Afrikaans in schools might result in another Sharpeville shooting incident "if the matter is not dealt with immediately."

More than 2 000 pupils from seven Soweto schools have been boycotting classes during the past month following a directive from the Department of Bantu Education which instructed post-primary schools to teach half their subjects in Afrikaans, Sapa reports.

But our political correspondent reports from Cape Town that the Government believed the disputes would be settled and that there was no need for undue concern, although it was warned of the trouble two weeks ago.

This was confirmed yesterday by Mr. Rene de Villiers, the PRP MP for Parktown, who said that he had been asked by the Institute of Race Relations to see Dr. Andries Treurnicht, the Deputy Minister of Bantu Education about the school boycott.

"I discussed the matter with Dr. Treurnicht on several occasions," said Mr. de Villiers when approached.

"Dr. Treurnicht looked into the matter . . . and gave me to understand that in his view there was no need for undue concern, that discussions between interested parties were continuing and he hoped and felt that there was good reason to

be amicably settled. "He did not seem to think there was any danger of the situation getting out of hand."

More than 500 pupils at the Pheteni Junior Secondary School refused to attend classes on May 17 in protest at being taught certain subjects in Afrikaans. They stoned the principal's office and punctured his car, Sapa reports.

A school circuit inspector, Mr. M. C. de Beer, gave them three days to return to school or face expulsion.

Two days later, the Belle Higher Primary School at Orlando West joined the boycott.

A fortnight later six schools and more than 1 500 pupils were on strike and one school board resigned when it was told that Afrikaans would in future be the medium of instruction for mathematics and history.

A Department of Bantu Education official again warned pupils that

the register if they failed to return to classes for two weeks.

Shortly afterwards, on June 4, Soweto pupils stoned buildings and fellow pupils who continued attending classes. No one was hurt.

Last week pupils at the Naledi High School set fire to a police car after two security policemen attempted to detain a pupil they had previously questioned at home.

The police were warned not to arrest the pupil as there would be trouble.

The Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration, Mr. W. Cruywagen, said in reply to a question in the House of Assembly on June 11 that five Soweto schools involved in the strike had applied for permission to deviate from the 50-50 (English-Afrikaans) medium of instruction requirement, but that it had been refused.

He said: "After inspection it was found that all

Parliamentary
Correspondent

CAPE TOWN—Both Opposition parties yesterday said that the tragic events at Soweto could have been prevented if the Government had not tried to force the language instruction on to Black pupils.

The Progressive Reform Party's Dr. Alex Boraine said the tragedy "could have been averted if the Government had not stubbornly refused to scrap the regulations compelling Black children in secondary schools in urban areas to be taught on a 50-50 English-Afrikaans basis."

And the United Party's Mr. Andrew Peyer said: "Some form of confrontation was inevitable after the Nationalist Government had decided to force the medium of instruction on Black pupils."

He said: "It is com-

Government was warned, says MP

pletely senseless from an educational point of view to try to force people to be taught through the medium of two foreign languages."

Dr. Boraine made the following points:

The African Teachers' Association of South Africa 18 months ago had described the regulation as "cruel and short-sighted".

The Chief Ministers of the homelands in January last year asked the Prime Minister to change the language policy.

In May, 1975, the then Deputy Minister of Bantu Education, when asked if he had

consulted Black people about the policy, replied "No, I have not consulted them and I am not going to consult them".

In April he urged that local parent teachers' associations decide the language, but the present Deputy Minister of Bantu Education refused this.

On June 11 he asked the Minister whether any headmasters had requested "exemptions" from Afrikaans instruction regulation. Mr. Botha said all five had requested exemption but this had been refused.

Five
hundred
school
children

Memory
Correspondent

WELKOM — Students at the Thobakgane Junior Secondary School in Thobakgane, Welkom, stoned the staffroom, broke windows and injured five teachers during a school riot yesterday.

One teacher, who did not want his name mentioned, said: "This all started last week when some of the students approached the principal with a demand for a new playground. The students complained about being forced to attend after-school classes during winter."

Police were called but the students had dispersed into the townships.

At the time of going to press the students had not yet returned to the school and no arrests had been made.

Idi Amin
'fired on
crowd'

DAR ES SALAM
Uganda - continued



Uganda - continued

Township inferno

• FROM PAGE 1

Soweto high-school pupils.

The other was named as Mr. Nols Esterhuizen, who had helped find homes for displaced persons.

Reports of more deaths during the rioting last night were unconfirmed.

Schools were closed this morning on the instructions of Mr. M. C. Botha, Minister of Bantu Education, who recently refused African requests that they be allowed to choose between English and Afrikaans and not to be forced to learn both.

By early today, police were trying to mount patrols to restore order but about 1000 heavily armed policemen were surrounded at the Orlando police station by a cordon of rioters.

Among the equipment the police have called up were 14 anti-riot personnel carriers, called Hippos.

In last night's rioting, stones were thrown through the windows of trains travelling on the main Dube line to Soweto. A railway spokesman said no passengers were injured, but that the service may be disrupted because rioters had set light to a large vehicle and overturned it on the line.

Several people had lucky escapes from racial anger during the day, among them two young women, one White and one Black.

They were dragged from their car and carried off by students

lence in the Phefeni area of Orlando West.

After being beaten, the women were rescued in the first sortie by police into Phefeni.

The White woman gasped: "I don't want my husband to know. They stopped the car and pulled us out. They hit me on the head and dragged us away."

Sapa reported last night that an Army detachment from Springs had been sent to protect the Orlando power station, while other squads of police were assigned to guard railway stations, workshops and public buildings.

Earlier the Minister of Police, Mr. Jimmy Kruger, had said the Army was not being called in to quell the riots.

Senior Government sources in Cape Town indicated last night that they did not believe that the riots were "entirely spontaneous."

It was being suggested that 10 000 schoolchildren could not have mobilised themselves into riot action without some kind of backing.

They said the dispute over the language question had been virtually settled when the whole issue suddenly flared up.

Mr. J. T. Kruger, interviewed on television last night, said the rioting began about 8.15 a.m. yesterday when about 10 000 pupils started marching from school to school, stoning and overturning vehicles.

The police attempted

to isolate them from each other and from the shops and houses. This was very difficult.

"The police tried tear-gas, but tear-gas in the open was not very effective. The police then fired warning shots and this stopped the crowds for a while. But then they came on again and shots were fired."

"I believe the police used as little force as possible in the circumstances," he said.

According to some witnesses, shooting occurred after the pupils had regrouped following the attempt to disperse them with tear-gas.

There were no warning shots during the second clash, the witnesses said.

The clash resulted in the death of Hector Peterson and unleashed the violence which saw people pulled from their cars and stoning of vehicles.

From early afternoon, two Army helicopters patrolled over the area and dropped tear-gas canisters among the youths. Throughout the afternoon clouds of smoke rose from the areas as vehicles were set alight. A number of vehicles driven by Blacks and Whites were stoned and their occupants injured.

As news of the riots spread, placard-carrying students used Jan Smuts Avenue outside the University of the Witwatersrand to protest against the death of schoolchildren.

© See Editorial Opinion, Page 15.

Newspaper article on the occasion of 16 June 1976 uprising in Soweto. The article was published on 26 June 1976 (The Natal Mercury).

DURBAN, THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 7, 1985 30c

Tambo: We will fight on

Civil service cash clamp probed

Mercury Correspondent
CAPE TOWN—The Government has ordered an urgent and massive investigation into ways of curbing expenditure and improving efficiency throughout the civil service, it was revealed yesterday.

The huge belt-tightening probe is being conducted by the Commission for Administration and follows ballooning criticism from opposition politicians and the private sector over the state's own profligacy during periods of growing financial stringency.

According to a report in the latest Financial Mail, a total pay and perks cut of 2 percent — about R700 million — is expected to flow from the seven-day investigation that has been quickly ordered by the Cabinet.

HARARE—There was no alternative to armed struggle against what he called the Pretoria regime, and the African National Congress would intensify it as long as apartheid prevailed, ANC president Oliver Tambo said in an interview published on Monday.

All the alternatives of peaceful struggle in the past had failed, he said.

‘Therefore we say: to remove armed struggle the regime should first remove apartheid, which is the cause of armed struggle.’

The system had been responsible for sending millions of people into barren lands where, he said, they were queuing up for death.

The bantustans were themselves an act of violence, so it was wrong to think his organisation would abandon the armed struggle.

‘In any case, even if there were any talks and if we thought the time had come for talks with the Pretoria regime, we would not abandon the armed struggle. We would simply carry on.’

Mr Tambo said he wanted to correct the impression created by the speculations about talks between Pretoria and his organisation and the possibility of the ANC abandoning armed struggle.

‘We would not talk to the regime about the fate of our country before the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and the other leaders imprisoned with him,’ he said.

On the recent offer by President Botha to release Mandela on condition he renounced the use of violence, Mr Tambo said it was significant only to the extent that it was a new condition, which Mr Mandela would once again reject.

Principles

‘Up to now and for many years, Mr Mandela has been offered release on condition that he went to live in the bantustans, to endorse and recognise the so-called independent bantustans, but consistently he had rejected the condition.’

Pretoria should know by now that Mandela was a man whose life was governed by strong principles and if they want to talk to him, about armed struggle, then they would talk to him as a free man.

It was not clear why ‘we who are the victims of violence are expected to abandon our violence when the regime pursues us with worse violence’.

On the recent proposal by Mr Botha that Africans living in urban areas should have different status from those in homelands, Mr Tambo said all that it represented was another idea for bantustans in the urban areas.

Whatever the regime was trying to build, including its so-called constitutional reforms, was being built upon the foundation of apartheid which at any rate was cracking.

The so-called urban Africans would not be deceived by the ploy which only represented the regime's belief in apartheid and its determination to defend it, Mr Tambo said.

Asked whether the ap-

Mary Ann types

Newspaper article highlighting OR Tambo's reaction against Pretoria and its system of apartheid. The article was published 7 February 1985 (The Natal Mercury).

